Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg

LATE A SENATOR FROM
MICHIGAN

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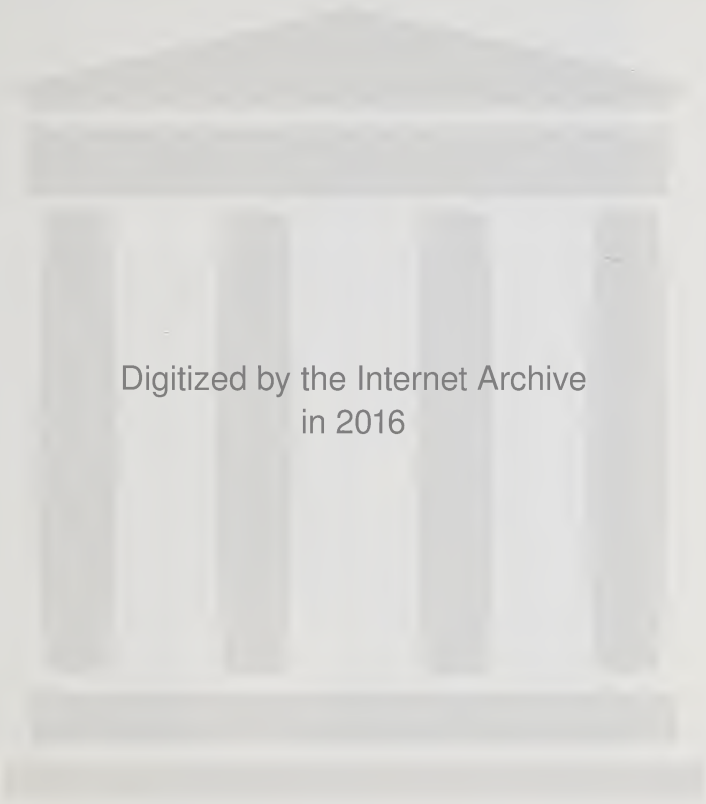
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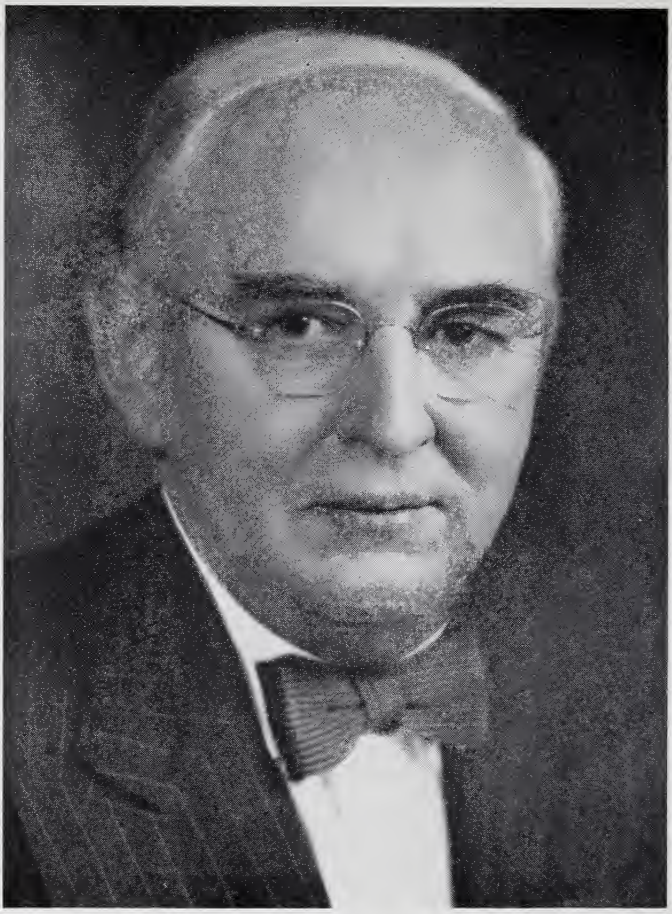

Memorial Services

HELD IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES AND SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES, TOGETHER WITH REMARKS PRESENTED IN EULOGY OF

Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg

LATE A SENATOR FROM MICHIGAN

U. S.
51-62852

Eighty-second Congress
First Session

UNITED STATES
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Biography

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG was born in Grand Rapids, Mich., March 22, 1884; attended the public schools and studied law at the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor; editor and publisher of the Grand Rapids Herald 1906–28; author; member of Grand Rapids Charter Commission in 1912; chairman of Michigan commission to place the statue of Zachariah Chandler in the United States Capitol in 1913; chairman of the Michigan Republican State conventions in 1916 and 1928; member of the Republican State central committee 1912–18; appointed as a Republican to the United States Senate on March 31, 1928, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Woodbridge N. Ferris, and on November 6, 1928, was elected to fill this vacancy and also for the term ending January 3, 1935; reelected in 1934, 1940, and again in 1946 and served until his death; delegate to the United Nations Conference at San Francisco in 1945; delegate to the United Nations General Assembly at London and New York in 1946; United States adviser to the Council of Foreign Ministers at London, Paris, and New York in 1946; delegate to Pan American Conference at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1947; served as President pro tempore of the Senate from January 4, 1947, to January 3, 1949; died in Grand Rapids, Mich., April 18, 1951; interment in Oak Hill Cemetery.

In the House of Representatives

TUESDAY, *April 24, 1951.*

Mr. STANLEY. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent for the immediate consideration of House Resolution 205.

The Clerk read the resolution, as follows:

Resolved, That on Wednesday, May 16, 1951, immediately after the approval of the Journal, the House shall stand at recess for the purpose of holding the memorial services as arranged by the Committee on House Administration under the provision of clause (1) (j) (2) (C) of rule XI of the Rules of the House of Representatives. The order of exercises and proceedings of the service shall be printed in the Congressional Record, and all Members shall have leave for 60 legislative days to extend their remarks in the Congressional Record, on the life, character, and public service of deceased Members. At the conclusion of the proceedings, the Speaker shall call the House to order and then as a further mark of respect to the memories of the deceased he shall declare the House adjourned.

* * * * *

The resolution was agreed to.

Memorial Services
in the
House of Representatives

Eighty-second Congress
First Session

Memorial Service Program

Prelude, sacred selections (11:30 to 12)
United States Marine Corps Orchestra

Presiding Officer---------- The Speaker, Hon. Sam Rayburn

Invocation---------- The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.

Solo, There Is No Death (O'Hara)-------- Mr. Robert C. Nicholson
At the piano---------- Staff Sgt. George Manof

Scripture reading and prayer---------- The Chaplain

Roll of deceased Members
The Clerk of the House of Representatives

Rose ritual---------- Hon. Reva Beck Bosone
Representative from the State of Utah

Devotional silence.

Address---------- Hon. Prince H. Preston, Jr.
Representative from the State of Georgia

Solo, Requiem (Homer)---------- Mr. Nicholson

Address---------- Hon. Katharine St. George
Representative from the State of New York

Taps---------- Master Sgt. Edward L. Masters

Echo---------- Staff Sgt. John A. Gosling

Benediction---------- The Chaplain

Arthur Hendrick Vandenberg

Memorial Services

WEDNESDAY, *May 16, 1951.*

The SPEAKER of the House of Representatives (Mr. Rayburn) presided.

The Chaplain, Rev. Bernard Braskamp, D. D.:

Eternal God, our Father, whose heart always opens with love in response to our many needs, in the life of each of us there are times and experiences when all our feelings seem to impose silence.

We thank Thee for the joys which cheer us and for the trials which teach us to put our trust in Thee.

Grant that in this hour of sacred memory we may enter into a blessed communion with Thy spirit and the spirit of all upon whom Thou hast bestowed the benediction, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant, enter thou into the joy of thy Lord."

Hear us in Christ's name. Amen.

Mr. Robert C. Nicholson sang There Is No Death, by O'Hara.

Staff Sgt. George Manof accompanied at the piano.

The CHAPLAIN. The Scripture readings are taken from the Old and New Testaments.

Psalm 85:

I will hear what God the Lord will say, for He will speak peace unto His people and to His saints.

Psalm 23:

The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall not want.

He maketh me to lie down in green pastures; he leadeth me beside the still waters.

He restoreth my soul; He leadeth me in the paths of righteousness for His name's sake.

Yea, though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for Thou art with me; Thy rod and Thy staff they comfort me.

Thou preparest a table before me in the presence of mine enemies; Thou anointest my head with oil; my cup runneth over.

Surely goodness and mercy shall follow me all the days of my life and I will dwell in the house of the Lord forever.

In St. Paul's great chapter on the resurrection, the fifteenth of First Corinthians, we find these words:

Now is Christ risen from the dead, and become the first fruits of them that slept.

For since by man came death, by man came also the resurrection of the dead.

For as in Adam all die, even so in Christ shall all be made alive.

Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmovable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, for as much as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord.

John 14 to which struggling humanity has made a beaten path:

Let not your heart be troubled; ye believe in God, believe also in me.

In my Father's house are many mansions: if it were not so, I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you.

And if I go and prepare a place for you, I will come again and receive you unto myself, that where I am there ye may be also.

Peace I leave with you. My peace I give unto you: not as the world giveth, give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, neither let it be afraid.

The following poem entitled "The Other Room" written by Robert Freeman, is a beautiful commentary on the gracious words which came from our blessed Lord:

"No, not cold beneath the grasses,
Not close-walled within the tomb;
Rather, in my Father's mansion,
Living in another room.

"Living, like the one who loves me,
Like yon child with cheeks abloom,
Out of sight, at desk or school-book,
Busy in another room.

"Nearer than the youth whom fortune
Beckons where the strange lands loom;
Just behind the hanging curtain,
Serving in another room.

"Shall I doubt my Father's mercy?
Shall I think of death as doom,
Or the stepping o'er the threshold
To a bigger, brighter room?

"Shall I blame my Father's wisdom?
Shall I sit enswathed in gloom,
When I know my love is happy,
Waiting in the other room?"

Let us pray.

O Thou, who are the author and disposer of human life, from whom our spirits have come and unto whom they return, through Thy holy word Thou hast spoken and in our own hearts Thy voice is heard.

Grant that in our times of need we may not turn our eyes upon the ground whence no help can come but may we turn them heavenward and unto Thee.

We thank Thee for Thy servants who walked and worked with us for a little while upon this earth and who are now with Thee in heavenly blessedness, having received the reward of their faith and fidelity, even the salvation of their souls.

We rejoice that whatever was beautiful and noble in their life, in Thy sight and our sight, abides forever. We have not said "farewell" but only "good night," hoping on some blessed morn to meet and dwell with them in hallowed union in that fairer land whose language is music and where joys are unceasing.

May the sorrowing and lonely be blessed with the consolations of Thy grace and may they daily avail themselves of the companionship of that friend, who sticketh closer than a brother and who abides with us not only for a day but throughout life and eternity.

We pray that Thou wilt also so teach us to number our days that we may apply our hearts unto wisdom. Enable us by Thy grace to carry on in faith, in faithfulness and in the fear of the Lord and at the eventide of life, when Thou dost call us to Thyself, may we receive a glorious entrance into that Kingdom of eternal blessedness which Thou hast prepared for Thy children.

Hear us in the name of our Lord and Saviour. Amen.

ROLL OF DECEASED MEMBERS

Mr. George J. Maurer, reading clerk of the House of Representatives, read the following roll:

VIRGIL MUNDAY CHAPMAN, a Senator from the State of Kentucky; born March 15, 1895; lawyer; editor in chief of the Kentucky Law Journal, 1917 and 1918; graduated from the law department of the University of Kentucky at Lexington; city attorney of Irvine, 1918–20; elected to Sixty-ninth and Seventieth Congresses; elected to the Seventy-second and to the eight succeeding Congresses; elected to the United States Senate in 1948; died March 8, 1951.

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG, a Senator from the State of Michigan; born March 22, 1884; editor and publisher of the Grand

Rapids Herald from 1906 to 1928; he was an author; chairman of the Michigan State Commission which placed the statue of Zachariah Chandler in the Capitol in 1913; appointed to the United States Senate on March 31, 1928; elected to the Senate on November 6, 1928, and served continuously until his death; delegate to United Nations Conference in 1945 at San Francisco; delegate to United Nations General Assembly at London and New York in 1946; United States adviser to the Council of Foreign Ministers at London, Paris, and New York in 1946; delegate to the 1947 Pan American Conference at Rio de Janeiro, Brazil; President pro tempore of the Senate from January 4, 1947, to January 3, 1949; died April 18, 1951.

JOHN LESINSKI, a Representative from the State of Michigan; born January 3, 1885; attended Detroit University; organized several business enterprises in Michigan; for many years president of the Polish Citizens' Committee of Detroit; State commissioner in charge of the sale of Polish bonds in 1920; awarded the Polonia Restituta by the Polish Government; delegate to three Democratic national conventions; elected to the Seventy-third and the eight succeeding Congresses; chairman, Committee on Education and Labor, Eighty-first Congress; died May 27, 1950.

WILLIAM LEMKE, a Representative from North Dakota; born August 13, 1878; graduated from the University of North Dakota and Yale University; studied law at Georgetown University; admitted to the bar in 1905 and started practice in Fargo, N. Dak.; member of the national executive committee of the National Nonpartisan League from 1917 to 1921; chairman of the Republican State committee from 1916 to 1920; attorney general of North Dakota in 1921 and 1922; Union Party candidate for President in 1936; elected to the Seventy-third and the three succeeding Congresses; then elected to the Seventy-eighth and to the three succeeding Congresses, and served until his death, May 30, 1950.

ALFRED LEE BULWINKLE, a Representative from the State of North Carolina; born April 21, 1883; studied law at the University of North Carolina and was admitted to the bar in 1904 and started practice in Dallas, Gaston County, N. C.; delegate to practically all of the Democratic State conventions since 1904; prosecuting attorney for the municipal court in Gastonia from 1913 to 1916; captain in North Carolina National Guard from 1909 to 1917; served on Mexican Border and, as a major, in the American Expeditionary Forces; United States adviser in the International Civil Aviation

Organization Conference at Montreal, Canada, and Geneva, Switzerland, in 1947; elected to 14 Congresses, including the Eighty-first; died August 31, 1950.

HERBERT ALTON MEYER, a Representative from the State of Kansas; born August 30, 1886; attended Staunton Military Academy, Staunton, Va., and George Washington University, Washington, D. C., and graduated from National University Law School, Washington, D. C., in 1910; he was admitted to the bar in 1910; served as a captain in the United States Army Air Corps; he was assistant to the Secretary of the Interior Department from 1915 to 1917; a successful businessman and a publisher; he served in the Eightieth and Eighty-first Congresses; died October 2, 1950,

JOHN BERCHMANS SULLIVAN, a Representative from the State of Missouri; born October 10, 1897; graduated from St. Louis University in 1918; served as a private in the First World War; admitted to the bar in 1921 and started practice in St. Louis; delegate to the Democratic State Conventions in 1928, 1932, and 1940; associate city counselor of St. Louis from 1936 to 1938; secretary to the mayor of St. Louis from 1938 to 1940, author of the St. Louis smoke elimination ordinance; special assistant to the United States Attorney General in 1947 and 1948; elected to the Seventy-seventh, Seventy-ninth, Eighty-first, and Eighty-second Congresses; died January 29, 1951.

FRANK BUCHANAN, a Representative from the State of Pennsylvania; born December 1, 1902; graduated from the University of Pittsburgh, Pittsburgh, Pa., in 1925; taught in the high schools of Homestead and McKeesport, Pa.; entered business and became an economic consultant; served as mayor of McKeesport, Pa.; elected to the Seventy-ninth Congress and was reelected to the Eightieth, Eighty-first, and Eighty-second Congresses; died April 27, 1951.

JOHN KEE, a Representative from the State of West Virginia; born August 22, 1874; attended West Virginia University at Morgantown; studied law; was admitted to the bar in 1897 and began practice in Glenville, W. Va.; he served as counsel for the Virginia Railway Co. from 1902 to 1910; in 1916 he started special legal work in Mexico, he was a member of the State senate from 1923 to 1927; he was elected to the Seventy-third and to all succeeding Congresses; chairman, Committee on Foreign Affairs; died May 8, 1951.

Mrs. BOSONE, a Representative from the State of Utah, standing in front of the Speaker's rostrum, placed a memo-

rial rose in a vase as the name of each deceased Member was read by the Clerk.

There followed a period of devotional silence, during which the Members stood.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Preston].

Hon. PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR., a Representative from the State of Georgia, delivered the following address:

ADDRESS BY HON. PRINCE H. PRESTON, JR.

Mr. PRESTON. Mr. Speaker, each civilization develops its own peculiar customs, and one of ours is to wait until death comes to give full confession of love and respect for our friends. And so today, in accordance with a long-standing custom, we are met to pay affectionate tribute to our colleagues who have departed this life during the past 12 months.

This is a tender moment for all of us who knew so well the seven Members of the House of Representatives and two Members of the Senate whose memories we honor today. It is a moment when we can put out of our minds all thoughts of material things and permit our recollection to bring before our eyes in realistic pageantry the hours, the days, and years spent in pleasant association with these noblemen.

> Nature's own nobleman, friendly and frank
> Is a man with his heart in his hand.

It is a moment of intense reality, for as we heard the honor roll called, we realized to what great extent the angel of death has been among us, and it wakes up within us the thought that we too may soon be brushed by its wings.

> His wings are gray and trailing,
> Azrael, Angel of Death,
> And yet the souls that Azrael brings
> Across the dark and cold,
> Look up beneath those folded wings,
> And find them lined with gold.

It is a moment of great reverence as we lift our voices in adulation, firm in the belief that listening ears in the far-off yonder will softly hear and accept the tribute we pay their precious memory.

Moreover, it is a moment of humility when the spirit takes hold and we tremble in the thought of our unworthiness. We stand in the warmth of the rays from God's light of love and all too often never look up to see from whence it comes. Let us pause in the sacredness of the hour to acknowledge our debt of love to Him who giveth life and taketh it away.

Yes, it too is a moment of consecration; a moment full with fresh thoughts of the passing from our midst of our valued friends who, beyond any doubt, won by their devoted service a seat in that invisible Congress presided over by Him from whose rulings there is no appeal. This is a moment for consecration and rededication to the proposition of immortality to the end that when the time comes to yield our term on earth that we may inherit a legacy of eternal membership in that body supreme, there to join those we honor today. I am constantly reminded of the philosophy expressed by Ingalls in his eulogy of Ben Hill, of my native State, when I ponder the glories of heaven. He said:

> Every man's life is the center of a circle. Within its narrow confines he is potential; beyond he perishes. And if immortality be a splendid but elusive dream, if the incompleteness of every human career, even the longest and most fortunate, be not perfected and supplemented after its termination here, then he who fears to die should dread to live, for life would be a tragedy more desolate and inexplicable than death.

How can we find it in our hearts to believe that God will break faith with all the sons of men on the assurance of the words of Genesis:

> And the Lord God formed man of the dust of the ground and breathed into his nostrils the breath of life; and man became a living soul.

And it is on this premise that we gather today, joined by the families and close friends of our late Members, to hallow their memory with our inadequate expressions of devotion and appreciation.

These great men gave freely to the effort to preserve our Republic. Theirs the effort to see to it that representative and constitutional government for a free people did not succumb, that equality of opportunity under the law should always survive; that the restraint of the mighty and the protection of the weak be a legal fact and not an academic fiction. Theirs to hold to the ancient faith of the founders—to preserve the old fidelities of policy, to revere the precedents honorably established—but likewise to pioneer in new fields of remedy and procedure when the old order grew archaic and unstable. And there lies one of the distressing problems of congressional service; to make decisions to abandon an established tenet of policy honored during the reach of years, but now found inadequate to meet the evolution of events and the fickle currents of public opinion. It is no easy thing to remove "the ancient landmarks thy fathers have set" and neither is it a trivial thing to choose a safer outpost than the old fortress to be abandoned. Our honored colleagues measured up in the highest degree to all responsibilities devolving upon them.

No one knows better than the members of the families of these distinguished gentlemen, the sustained stress and strain of serving in Congress; the years trimmed from a normal expectancy because of the arduous hours spent in meeting duty with full measure of effort. We saw them working when they should have been resting. We noticed the hours they spent at night and on week ends dealing with the problems of the hour. We heard them spurn the advice of friends and colleagues to desist from strenuous effort, but devotion to duty overruled better judgment and now they are gone.

Farewell, friends, yet not farewell;
Where I am, ye, too, shall dwell.
I am gone before your face,
A moment's time, a little space.

Mr. Speaker, not only were our revered colleagues good men with a high sense of appreciation for moral and spiritual values, but they were wise men. How interesting it has been to me to study the Congressional Record and read how well and truly each of them left for posterity great words of wisdom, words of admonition. Some of these statements are startlingly accurate in caution and prediction.

Listen to the words of ARTHUR VANDENBERG, architect of the United Nations, spoken on January 10, 1945:

Mr. President, we still have two major wars to win. I said "we." That does not mean America alone. It means the continued and total battle fraternity of the United Nations. It must mean one for all and all for one; and it will mean this, unless somewhere in this grand alliance the stupid and sinister folly of ulterior ambitions shall invite the enemy to postpone our victory through our own rivalries and our own confusion. The United Nations, in even greater unity of military action than heretofore, must never, for any cause, permit this military unity to fall apart. If it does, we shall count the cost in mortal anguish, even though we stumble on to a belated, though inevitable, victory.

On February 28, 1941, JOHN KEE, who so recently left us, made a significant plea for lend-lease when he said:

We must supply this aid to England in this her time of need, not alone because it is her need, but because it is our need and the need of every other free and liberty-loving nation on earth. And if, with our help, England wins and we are saved from the horrors of war, we will be in position to lead the world back to the ways of peace, back to a love of justice and liberty, back, let us hope, once more to the love and worship of God.

We recall the timely warning given on June 27, 1949, by FRANK BUCHANAN when he said:

We have advanced a great step forward away from isolationism. Some people would try to make out that questioning of funds for foreign aid, both ECA and arms for Europe, mean a new wave of isolationism. It is a healthy sign, rather than a pessimistic one,

because there is a real regard for caution and a raising of the question as to how much we really can afford to spend.

We, as Members of Congress, should awaken to the idea and to the hard economic fact that this Nation's resources are not without limit.

How right was HERBERT MEYER on July 25, 1950, when he cautioned:

In these critical days every precaution should be taken to see that no materials and supplies from the United States or any of the countries allied with the United States in the effort to confine communism should reach the forces arrayed against us.

Yes, Mr. Speaker, in the archives of the Congress we find well established in the record the story of the yearnings of these men for the creation of conditions and laws insuring a higher standard of living for their fellow countrymen. Allow me to quote further. These are almost familiar words from VIRGIL CHAPMAN, uttered on June 19, 1948:

Nothing is more fundamental than that the permanence and the prosperity of American institutions depend on the intelligence and character of the American people. Cultivated mind is the only leadership which free people will accept and free government cannot function long or successfully unless it derives its powers from an electorate of intelligence and character. There is more of the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights in the public school system than in any other of our cherished institutions. It is the symbol of democracy in the broadest and most vital sense in which that word can be used, including the kind of democracy that teaches every man to be his brother's keeper and to love his neighbor as himself.

Listen to ALFRED BULWINKLE on July 26, 1946, who was so long a hospital patient before his passing:

This hospital bill (Hospital Survey and Construction Act) * * * will do much to alleviate suffering, and to make the lot of many people easier. It will place this Nation of ours in the forefront of all nations in public health and public welfare.

The voice of WILLIAM LEMKE can be heard as he said on December 17, 1937:

Congress should now assume its constitutional duty and again write the Nation's laws. It should write a farm bill which will

give to the farmers cost of production for that part of commodities consumed in the United States. It should write a labor bill which will give to every laboring man a living wage—an American standard of living. The time is at hand when the intelligent people of this Nation must wake up and assume their responsibility.

Then comes the voice of JOHN LESINSKI, independent and challenging, on April 19, 1946.

I care little whether legislation has the approval of the Bureau of the Budget and the administration so long as it is for the benefit of the many.

Striking a true tone, JOHN SULLIVAN pronounced on June 24, 1949:

I subscribe to the theory of good housing as an investment in good citizenship. I know of no single factor in our society that has more to do with shaping the American way of life than the homes our people live in.

These are but samples of the record of constructive service our brethren carved for themselves. These are but brief exhibits from a great file of evidence already accepted by the court of public acclaim.

And so, standing before the monuments these gallant men erected for themselves while among us by deed and kindly act, we bid them farewell—in sorrow but with uplifted hearts. We mourn with their loved ones; and in bereavement we recall that, while all men must meet death somewhere on the way, these our colleagues were privileged to meet it on the open road, in the day of their service, with their honors full upon them. But before we turn away we would take the sculptor's chisel and cut these words upon their monuments of alabaster clear—

Yes, I have lived! Pass on
And trouble me with questions nevermore—
I suffered. I have won
A solemn peace—my peace forevermore.
Leave me in silence here.
I have hope, no care,
I know no fear;
For I have borne—but now no longer bear.

Mr. Robert C. Nicholson sang Requiem, by Homer.

Staff Sgt. George Manof accompanied at the piano.

The SPEAKER. The Chair recognizes the gentlewoman from New York [Mrs. St. George].

Hon. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE, a Representative from the State of New York, delivered the following address:

ADDRESS BY HON. KATHARINE ST. GEORGE

Mrs. ST. GEORGE. Mr. Speaker, we are once more met to commemorate the passing, this year, of nine of our friends and colleagues.

It is well that we should pause, even now when the world is in such confusion and turmoil and stop to think of them, of what they were, of what they stood for, and in what they believed. We come here not as men and women grief-stricken and without hope but to renew our faith in the work that these men did and were doing, to gain courage from their example and strength from their steadfastness.

There is, in very truth, a closely knit fraternity that exists in the Congress of the United States. We all have the same problems, the same disappointments, the same successes and failures regardless of party labels, and so when we die in harness, as these nine have done, giving the last full measure of service to their country, we pause with pride and understanding and we seem to hear the words, "Well done, good and faithful servant."

These men worked to the last. They did not spare themselves. Many times, we know, that they were asked to rest, to halt, but to save themselves they could not and would not and for that, too, we admire them.

I saw a picture the other day of a young and dashing marine, evidently just dashing into combat, and the caption under the picture was: "Come on, you guys, do you want to live forever?" That boy had a smile on his lips and these, our comrades, had that same smile and that same

desire to do all that the situation and the times demanded of them even if it meant shortening their lives here on earth.

The lives of these men were rewarding and for that reason, hard. Because nothing is worth having that has not cost us something to gain. The closeness to one's own little district or State is a very precious thing. The fact that people turn to their Congressman for certain services and even more important, turn to them in personal matters and problems, all these things bring truly great rewards. The friendships made with men and women in every walk of life, the broadening of one's whole horizon as day by day we get to know and understand more and more of humanity. More of its frailty, yes, but also more of its dignity, of its faith, and of its courage.

These men we honor today accomplished much because they understood these things. In this age of mechanical perfection there is still no substitute for the human touch and for human work and understanding. For that reason these human friends of ours are remembered. Great engines of peace and war are scrapped and forgotten when they have accomplished their work. But men are remembered because of that divine spark that is in us all and that goes on and on into eternity, leaving something here on earth. Here is the roll:

Senator VIRGIL MUNDAY CHAPMAN, Kentucky.
Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Michigan.
Representative JOHN LESINSKI, Michigan.
Representative WILLIAM LEMKE, North Dakota.
Representative ALFRED LEE BULWINKLE, North Carolina.
Representative HERBERT A. MEYER, Kansas.
Representative JOHN B. SULLIVAN, Missouri.
Representative FRANK BUCHANAN, Pennsylvania.
Representative JOHN KEE, West Virginia.

As I name them, each one of you will remember some personal touch, or some especial word or phrase that you will carry all through your life and that was a part of them. It is too soon for us to appraise their place in history but we know that they had little thought of that, but did the tasks that came to hand, always going forward, never turning back. It is quite possible that in the future some of these colleagues of ours and their works will be proved important to humanity. It is never those who get the greatest acclaim in life who are the giants of history and it is well to remember the words of Phillips Brooks who, in writing of Christ, said:

> Nineteen wide centuries have come and gone and today He is the centerpiece of the human race and the leader of the column of progress.
>
> I am far within the mark when I say that all the armies that ever marched, and all the navies that ever were built, and all the parliaments that ever sat, and all the kings that ever reigned, put together, have not affected the life of man upon this earth as powerfully as that one solitary life.

No; as time passes and the storms and the earthquakes subside the still small voice emerges and triumphs and the stone that the builders rejected becomes the cornerstone of the building.

Today we are all worried and afraid. We are confused and it seems that so much that we had trusted has failed. We must turn again to the God of our fathers who gave them this good land and to whom they turned always in adversity and prosperity. This Nation was founded on the principle of a deep belief and faith in God. True, religion and government were to be separate, but let no one imagine from that we were an irreligious people, nothing could be farther from the truth. Of late we have turned away from these basic concepts and have begun to trust in our own strength, our own righteousness, and our own power. This has led us into confusion and sorrow. We must remember that we are

equal, but under God; we must remember that His is the power and the glory and that ours is only a faint reflection of it. Man must look up and beyond himself, if he would have peace of mind, and without that he cannot succeed. The world today needs peace of mind. Needs to have faith so that we can achieve those things that at times seem beyond our reach, but with faith all things are possible.

As these Congressmen went through life, they had faith to carry on their tasks and the accomplishments and successes they achieved were their reward. Many worked for peace, others worked to make the world and this country a better place for men to live in, and if necessary die for. The earthly rewards of a Member of Congress are meager and yet we know that we love our work and that nothing else would be as satisfying. It is because this is a human job that brings us all close together in a common task. We may not always succeed, in fact we may often fail, but we know what we are striving for and what these men strove and died for, to prove that freedom under God can survive and can overcome its enemies be they ever so powerful both at home and abroad. That is a creed worth fighting for and just as our soldiers fight and die for it on battlefields, so these nine men fought and probably truly died for it right in the Congress of the United States.

To you their families and friends who are here we can but say this is a proud moment for you, this is indeed their finest hour, the task has been accomplished, the victory has been won and they go on from strength to strength.

For us their colleagues who remain behind, we too are cheered and heartened by their examples, we have not always agreed but we have always respected each other. We have fought a good fight together and we will try to carry on where these, our brothers, left off until that great day:

When earth's last picture is painted and the tubes are twisted and dried,
When the oldest colors have faded, and the youngest critic has died,
We shall rest and faith we shall need it, lie down for an aeon or two,
Till the Master of all good workmen shall put us to work anew.

And only the Master shall praise us and only the Master shall blame;
And no one shall work for money, and no one shall work for fame;
But each for the joy of the working and each, in his separate star,
Shall draw the thing as he sees it for the good of things as they are.

Master Sgt. Edward L. Masters sounded taps, the echo being sounded by Staff Sgt. John A. Gosling.

The Chaplain pronounced the following benediction:

The Lord bless you and keep you; the Lord make His face to shine upon you and be gracious unto you; the Lord lift upon you His countenance and give you peace. Amen.

The SPEAKER. Pursuant to the provisions of House Resolution 205, as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Chair declares the House adjourned until 11 o'clock a. m. tomorrow.

Thereupon (at 12 o'clock and 56 minutes p. m.) under its previous order, the House adjourned until tomorrow, Thursday, May 17, 1951, at 11 o'clock a. m.

Proceedings
in the
United States Senate

Proceedings in the Senate

THURSDAY, *April 19, 1951.*

The Chaplain, Rev. Frederick Brown Harris, D. D., offered the following prayer:

O Thou kindly Light, as we come groping our way through a maze of life and death, we thank Thee for the durable verities which are above controversy and debate. As on this day we honor a living captain who has fought a good fight and has laid the foundations of freedom in a conquered land, Thou knowest that our welcome home is tinged with grief and sorrow at the passing from this earthly stage of one who with integrity and ability stood for so many years in this Chamber, as he served his State, his Nation, and the world.

We thank Thee that in the gathering storm of aggression which now rages, Thy servant ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, in a time that called for greatness, grew into greatness; and that, as he sat in the seat now vacant and stood in this National Council which will see his face no more, it was given him to discern clearly and to speak boldly regarding the policies which belong to our peace. We give Thee thanks that in the crowning years of his career he stood so high on a pedestal of vision that all partisanship was dwarfed, as he became a valiant knight fighting for imperiled freedom in all the world. With a sense of poignant loss we thank Thee that such have been, tho' they are here no more: In the name of the Master of all good workmen. Amen.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, at this time I stand with a heavy heart beside the empty chair of my beloved colleague to announce to the Senate with profound sorrow the death of the senior Senator from the State of Michigan.

There is not a person in this Chamber who does not feel the tremendous loss that we must share. ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a giant among men. The Nation and the world have suffered an irretrievable loss at a time when the statesmanship, the wisdom, and the leadership of Senator VANDENBERG were at their greatest premium.

This is not an occasion to recount his many accomplishments. They are recorded in the annals of the Senate. When, some day in the future, the world knows peace, that peace will be a monument to the architecture of ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

I cannot adequately express the deep and intense personal loss that I feel today. Nor can I adequately express the sentiments which I know are felt by the people of my State. No one has ever had a more helpful or more understanding colleague than I have had. There was never a problem that could not be taken to him, or to which he could not or would not devote his piercing intellect in kindly help. His supreme sense of duty was a constant inspiration to his junior colleague. His belief in the principles of our Republic and his devotion to constitutional processes stresses one of the vital problems of our time.

His friendship will always remain one of my cherished memories.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was the first citizen of my State. He represented Michigan in the United States Senate longer than has any other man. On the 31st of last month he completed 23 years of continuous service in this body.

The brilliance of his intellect thrust him forward as one of the most important citizens of the world, as his leadership was asserted on the international scene.

Let us not forget, however, that ARTHUR VANDENBERG was first and last an American, and a United States Senator in the most glorious tradition of this great body. As a Senator he was a model of the completely rounded representative in our republican form of government. He recognized at all

times the needs and wishes of the people while leading them always.

The United Nations, the system of regional defense arrangements, and the ultimate goal of peace undoubtedly will be highlighted in the future biographies of this great man. Let no one ever overlook, however, that at all times he was among the foremost legislators on domestic matters. As early as 1932 and five times thereafter he was the Republican nominee for President pro tempore of the Senate, before elevation to that position in the Eightieth Congress.

He was the father of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation. The intricate and vital system of congressional apportionment under which we operate was also a product of his fertile and comprehending mind. For many years he was an outstanding member of the Finance and Commerce Committees, and his brilliance in international matters never obscured his authoritative judgment within the scope of these committees.

Arthur Vandenberg was a product of the American scene, where men are free to rise and will rise through their own qualities, talents, and efforts. He was the son of a harness-maker of humble means. His ambition to complete an education in law at the University of Michigan was cut short by family obligations. He became a newspaperman; and in remarkably short order his brilliance of thought and expression carried him to the top of that profession.

He was an active journalist until his appointment to the Senate, and I have always felt that that profession was his first and lasting love. One of the tragedies of his untimely passing is that he has not been permitted the opportunity to assemble in his own words the personal memoirs which in all certainty would have taken their place as one of the great literary and historical works of the twentieth century.

It was inevitable that Arthur Vandenberg should have entered public life, for such a character as his belonged among those who are charged with great public responsibili-

ties. It was inevitable, with the qualities that were his, that he should be a great leader in public life.

Finally, it was inevitable that at the moment of historical crisis, as America reached its maturity in international life, ARTHUR VANDENBERG stepped in and, when given the opportunity to formulate the policy, the world was benefited by his ability. He was steeped in the American tradition and its meaning, but his eyes were open to the explosive realities of international affairs and their implications.

He will be remembered as he came to the Senate floor to speak, from the depths of his experience and his conviction, for the millions of Americans who realized how the march of history had brought the people of the world together in unavoidable contact, and who realized that bonds would have to be forged which would link all people together in peace.

To that effort he dedicated himself in his recent years, with magnificent distinction. There can be no doubt in the minds of any that the effort has been blighted by his premature decline in health and now cut short by his untimely death. But the nobility of his purposes and the strength and reason of his convictions have made their impression.

In his passing, peace, as it springs from the aspirations and conscience of the American people, has lost one of its great apostles. In his passing America has lost one of its great figures.

Mr. President, I send to the desk a resolution, which I ask to have read and immediately considered.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The Secretary will read the resolution.

The legislative clerk read the resolution (S. Res. 130) and there being no objection, the Senate proceeded to its consideration, as follows:

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, late a Senator from the State of Michigan and a former President pro tempore of the Senate.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Mr. McFARLAND. Mr. President, the passing of ARTHUR VANDENBERG is an immeasurable loss to this Nation and the free world. We missed him greatly in recent months, when illness kept thim from his place in this Chamber. We will miss him more in the months to come.

He had the greatest gift any legislator could have—the gift of being able to bring men of sharply opposing views into harmony upon the vital questions of foreign policy. He had the quiet wisdom, the personal serenity, the calm force of character necessary to cool the partisan passions which often rise upon this floor.

He proved his courage when he declared in a moving speech that his isolationist philosophy had been short-sighted and unsuited to the modern world. When he changed his course, he changed completely and wholeheartedly.

He became one of the most eloquent advocates of international cooperation. He labored day and night to give strength and substance to the United Nations as an instrument of world peace. He supported aid to Greece and Turkey to check the tide of aggressive communism. He guided the Marshall plan through the Senate and helped to make it a reality.

He was one of those who laid the groundwork for the North Atlantic Treaty and the military assistance program to provide arms for the free nations. In all his endeavors, he strove to advance the cause of freedom and to keep this country in the path of enlightened leadership. He was one of the giants of the Senate, and a great American.

Mr. MILLIKIN. Mr. President, it is told that a legendary Indian monarch was groping for a philosophy that would sustain him in adversity and restrain him in triumph.

The courtiers and the wise men submitted their prescriptions but none was found acceptable until the daughter of the monarch presented her father with an emerald ring on which was inscribed the equivalent of "And this, too, shall pass."

The same motto is on a desk piece in the personal office of Senator VANDENBERG in the Senate Office Building.

On several occasions Senator VANDENBERG and I discussed this motto. He told me that it gave him great comfort.

He recalled instances when it was difficult for him to get into his office because of sacks of mail stacked high with letters of denunciation and again with those of praise.

He suggested it is well to remember that criticism and praise are transient phenomena of high office and that by keeping the motto in mind, the twin evils of deep shock over hostility and excessive joy over praise may be avoided.

He spoke of the need for patience and equanimity to bear the relentless weight of the multitudinous, constantly mounting duties and harassments pressing on a busy Senator.

Tensions reaching to unendurable heights could be relieved by accepting the reminder, "And this, too, shall pass," and that life itself must succumb to the ultimate wisdom of those words.

Senator VANDENBERG came to his office early in the morning and gave first attention to his mail.

To receive a letter from him was to receive a hearty handclasp and an expression of his personality almost as vivid as one to be gained by a personal meeting with him.

He accepted and performed not only the headline activities of his office, giving to them the perfectionist attentions of a great virtuoso in statesmanship, but also the chores, the obscure routine duties and problems of his committees and of his constituents, which received the benefit of his fine

intelligence, applied understandingly, sympathetically, and tirelessly.

Those who worked with him in large or small matters had the unforgettable treat of observing a great intellect reduce baffling complexity to its controlling simplicities.

His mind of many facets had the grandeurs, the sweep, the magnificent imagination of the Renaissance geniuses.

His spoken and written words stimulated inspired emotions and actions of avid readers and listeners all over the world.

The best of his oratory did not stand in shame before any of the word masters of the day or of the past.

His powers of expression were equal to the power of his thought, and the mode of expression readily adjusted itself to the occasion.

There was a quick, natural, and warming transition from exalted thoughts expressed in majestic cadences to the colloquialisms and earthy words which enrich the common currency of our language.

This quality found best expression during informal gatherings with friends where his conversation flashed with wit, humor, and illustrative stories expressed in everyday idiom.

He was not without the arts of the Thespian. Those are a part of the talent of the great orator, and on the smaller stage of meetings between friends he might indulge in kindly but illuminating mimicry of important public figures.

While yielding his mind, feelings, and, indeed, his technical understanding to the majestic strains of the immortal composers, he fashioned and played simple melodies of his own. Yes; he could contribute a sound baritone to a foursome.

While enjoying with informed appreciation the works of the classic masters of the brush whose superlative talents have brought sunlight into dark rooms, surpassed nature in the portrayal of its choicest scenes, and turned dead canvas and pigments into convincing illusion of pulsating life, Sena-

tor VANDENBERG, for his own amusement and recreation and that of his friends, created a lower-case art of his own.

I refer to his well-known drawings turned out at committee meetings without sacrifice of vigilant attention to that which was going on. These cherished, impromptu, free-hand drawings are true art, distinguished by "linear eloquence," movement, composition, and geometrical imagination.

I intrude these homely remembrances to point out the rounded nature and some of the varied talents of the man and perhaps to point to the fact that stuffed-shirtism need not be the inseparable and offensive companion of those possessing high abilities.

The years of his service lengthened with growing appreciation of his greatness. His fervent and effective crusades for laws which made safe the banked savings of the people, laws for better social security, laws for safeguarding the payrolls of the worker, and laws for preserving the integrity of our judicial system did not go unmarked.

Then, toward the latter part of his service here, he found and embraced the final and greatest dedication of his official life.

To him the measure of man's civilization was the length of his distance from the barbarities of the jungle, his proximity to the fulfillment of the song of the angels "Glory to God in the highest, and on earth peace, good will toward men."

To Senator VANDENBERG, unless durable peace can be brought into being, unless we can abolish the slaughter, horrors, hatreds, degradations, slaveries, and impoverishments of war, life is devoid of its best central meanings.

Durable peace, as he saw it, could be gained only by collective adherence to the ideal, the collective declaration of it, the collective, good-faith acceptance of its rights and duties, all to be animated with collective, good-faith actions, and to be promoted by honest nonpartisanship.

The United Nations had his passionate approval and promotion, as also did the Rio and North Atlantic Treaties.

For these objectives he spent without stint his great endowments which took on sublime sparkle matching the sublimity of the goal.

Implementation of the North Atlantic Pact was the subject of his last speech in the old Senate Chamber, where the nobility of his expressions and conceptions found company with the hovering spirits of other great and valiant Americans who, in their day, and on the issues before them, adorned that Chamber and our history with their presence and their words.

From then until his passing, he traveled a thorny road of pain and felt the frustrations of a fighting soul denied the battle.

Piled on top of his illness, which became fatal, was the shattering blow of the loss of his beloved wife.

Racked with pain and growing weariness, he manfully carried his cross.

The end came in the second year of his affliction. Each day there were a few relatively good hours during which he summoned his strength to keep abreast of the news and to express himself to close friends.

There were many evidences that he felt confident of his recovery; but in those dragging days and those long nights there must have been dark moments when it seemed that the morning would never come; that doubt could not be stilled.

Then, also, I like to think that during his travail, and at the end, he had the helpful remembrance of the motto on his desk "and this too shall pass" and that the engulfing shadows would lead to the eternal radiance ahead.

"Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God."

Mr. CONNALLY. Mr. President, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG was an able and patriotic Senator. I personally grieve at his passing.

He rendered distinguished service to the Nation and the world in the cause of international peace and international cooperation.

In his death the Nation has suffered a great loss. He will be deeply mourned. Personally, I feel a great loss.

Mr. President, I may say that I was associated intimately with Senator VANDENBERG as a member of the Foreign Relations Committee of this body. He and I sat together in San Francisco when the United Nations Charter was debated and adopted. We attended many other international conferences, in company with distinguished citizens of other countries. We always worked in harmony. Whatever little differences might arise, we were always able to adjust, and to present a solid front, representative of America and its interests.

At a later date, at an appropriate time, I shall expect to make more extended remarks, so I shall not now take more of the time of the Senate.

This morning the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations adopted, for the committee, a resolution with regard to Senator VANDENBERG. I assume that the Senator from Wisconsin [Mr. Wiley], its author, will personally present the resolution to the Senate.

Mr. President, the State of Michigan, the Nation, and the world have all suffered a tremendous loss in the passing of this able, distinguished, and patriotic Senator, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, of Michigan.

Mr. WILEY. Mr. President, General MacArthur told us, just a little while ago, "Old soldiers never die—they just fade away."

Mr. President, I wish to read a poem which expresses Senator VANDENBERG'S philosophy:

Death is only an old door
Set in a garden wall.
On gentle hinges it gives, at dusk,
When the thrushes call.

Along the lintel are green leaves,
Beyond, the light lies still.
Very willing and weary feet
Go over that sill.

There is nothing to trouble any heart,
Nothing to hurt at all.
Death is only a quiet door
In an old wall.

Mr. President, that poem expresses the philosophy of our departed friend and comrade. He looked upon this life as a link in the eternal chain of existence. He has just faded away, but his life goes on. Now he has gone ahead on a journey which all of us must take.

Personally, I feel a particular obligation on this occasion, because for some years I have served immediately next in Republican seniority behind Senator VANDENBERG. During the months he has been away because of his health, I have corresponded with him on occasion. Always he has written to me with the same optimism, cheerfulness, and directness which characterized all his expressions. I have looked forward eagerly to the day when he might return to this Chamber, because I know that there is not a single Member of this body who would not gladly have yielded any right, any position to this great statesman; but, of course, his physical form will no longer be with us.

During these many months of awaiting his return, I have thus refrained from assuming any of the prerogatives of his position as ranking Republican member on the Foreign Relations Committee. I have felt that "VAN" was my chief, and that I would wait until my chief returned.

Now that the sad news of his passing has come, a great flood of memories arises in the minds of all those of us who had the privilege of serving with him.

I remember, for example, that on one occasion, when I first came to the Senate, we were discussing the matter of what a legislator's attitude should be in relation to personal criticism directed against a man in public office. It was

"VAN'S" view, as it was the view of Abraham Lincoln and George Washington, that the best policy to follow was to ignore such criticism. "VAN," in particular, reflected George Washington's philosophy in that the Father of our Country had stated "that the best answer to calumny is silence."

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a man of strong convictions. Yet he was always ready to listen to the other fellow's viewpoint, to give him the credit for being honest, and then to argue the matter out. We all know to what pains he went in preparing his speeches. He would personally type them and then study them in detail, revise and improve them.

He was a friendly man. He loved to joke, and he could always tell a good story.

Not only what he said commanded attention in the Senate, but his physical presence required the attention of all who heard him. I can still see him, as time and time again he rose in the Senate, his bright eyes sparkling, his magnificent physical stature impressing us all, and his resonant voice ringing out the phrases which have been so well described by the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Millikin].

ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S word was as good as his bond. He possessed a deep sense of loyalty and faithfulness to his friends, which was always very refreshing. As a writer, it has been said, his words sparkled. As a thinker, his thoughts were clear-cut and straight to the point. His keen intellect always penetrated the haze and analyzed the really basic issues. But as a man of action, he knew that actions speak louder than words. He told me he was sorry, as the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Ferguson] said, that he could not complete his legal education, and was only able to get 1 year of law. But he had a legal mind. He could delve into a subject and get at the issues, rather than ramble around Robin Hood's barn. I might say that many years ago I was in the university with him.

History will record him as the greatest single architect of bipartisan foreign policy in the United States Congress in

the post-World War II period. I recall very well that day in January 1945, when he made his historic address indicating that he, who, like many others, had been a noninterventionist before World War II, clearly perceived that the world had changed and had contracted, and that America now had no alternative but to serve as a leader of the remaining free nations of the earth. I do not like the word "isolationist." No one is able to define it. "VAN" was a noninterventionist. He proved in 1945 that he recognized that ours was a dynamic world and that Americans had new dynamic responsibilities. He proved that it was unwise to be consistent with previous policy merely for the sake of uniformity. As Emerson once said, "A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

There are no memorials which can be built to ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S memory greater than the record of the Foreign Relations Committee under his leadership. During the Republican Eightieth Congress there were many differences between the then new majority party and the then new minority, yet, during that Congress, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee voted unanimously on about 60 different occasions. This fact of virtually complete unanimity shines out like a great golden beacon in a world torn by disunity. This achievement demonstrates those qualities of leadership with which ARTHUR VANDENBERG was so nobly equipped. I can still see him as he presided, a master in his committee work.

When the fortunes of politics returned him to the position of minority leader on the committee, he gave to that position his complete devotion without reservation, as indicated by the Senator from Texas [Mr. Connally]. There was never a question of his seeking any credit for himself. He gave his all to the common cause.

I recall the occasion, in early 1949, when Senator VANDENBERG and I turned over our respective Foreign Relations and Judiciary Committee chairmanships to our colleagues from the Democratic side of the aisle. It was characteristic of

"VAN" that, although he had many things of his own to think of on that occasion, he wrote me a very gracious letter expressing his thanks for the work I had performed both under his chairmanship in the foreign policy group and in my capacity as chairman of the Judiciary Committee. Always a hard worker himself, he appreciated hard work on the part of his colleagues, and he pointed out that we on the Judiciary Committee had reported 33 percent of all legislation in the Eightieth Congress. That letter I cherish for my children and grandchildren.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG joins that small select company of departed Americans who, like other great Members of the United States Congress, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and other illustrious names in our history, came very close to becoming President of the United States. The Presidency might almost have been theirs but for a small change in historical events.

We know that it is a tradition of the Senate that when one of its distinguished sons passes on there is a great outpouring of sentiment on the part of those who served with him. But on this sad occasion, we know that the hearts of all of us who served with "VAN" are overflowing with so many memories of our departed friend that whatever tribute we can pay to him is but a small measure of the sentiments which we feel, but which cannot be expressed in words alone.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG is now among the immortals in the annals of the United States Congress and of American history. In future generations, school children will look to his record and to his achievements for the definitive words and deeds of this period in American history.

May we who remain be worthy of the tradition of his selfless leadership. May we carry on in the same enlightened spirit in which he so ably led, and may we view his passing, as the poet told us, as but a going ahead in the journey which all mortals must take.

Not only have the people of Michigan lost a great son and a noble servant, but the people of America and of all the world have lost in him a mighty spokesman for peace and freedom. And yet, in a certain sense, we cannot lose the spirit of any man, much less the spirit of a great man like ARTHUR VANDENBERG. He abides with us. He dwells in our hearts. He fills this Chamber still, with his commanding presence.

To his dear ones, we convey the deepest condolences of our hearts. But we also know that they will carry on as this great and noble fighter would have them do.

Hail and farewell, thou good friend, thou noble American, ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

Mr. President, I ask that there be printed in the Record following my remarks a resolution adopted unanimously this morning by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations.

There being no objection, the resolution was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

RESOLUTION OF SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS COMMITTEE

Whereas our distinguished associate, one of the great Americans of this age, the Honorable ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, has passed to his eternal reward; and

Whereas we shall always be inspired by the wisdom, the judgment, the patriotism which he displayed throughout his service as a member and as chairman of this committee, and as a Member of the United States Senate; and

Whereas he set an example for this Nation in the promotion of national unity which is so necessary more than ever before: Therefore be it

Resolved, That we hereby express in the minutes of this committee our gratitude for his great life that has been lived among us and for his great contributions to the Republic, and we express our sincerest condolences to his loved ones.

Mr. ROBERTSON. Mr. President, as a junior Member of the Senate I wish to express my great sorrow over the passing of a friend and a distinguished colleague, and to say that I shall always cherish the memories of my short service in the Senate with ARTHUR VANDENBERG. He was a man of rare abil-

ity, a great orator, a real statesman; but what most attracted me to him when I came to the Senate in January 1947, was his great capacity for friendship.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was just as kind, gracious, and considerate to a new Member on either side of the aisle as he was to the senior Members who might properly call themselves his peers. It was unfortunate, I may say even tragic, that at a time when we needed more than ever before a bipartisan foreign policy, which ARTHUR VANDENBERG epitomized, he should have been cut down by an incurable disease while still in the full possession of all the qualities of a clear and radiant mind. But I am constrained to believe, as well as to hope, that what Pericles said of the young men of Athens is likewise true of my friend Senator VANDENBERG:

> I speak not of that in which their remains are laid, but of that in which their glory survives and is proclaimed always and on every fitting occasion both in word and deed. For the whole earth is the sepulchre of famous men; not only are they commemorated by columns and inscriptions in their own country, but in foreign lands there dwells also an unwritten memorial of them, graven not on stones but in the hearts of men. Make them your example.

We shall miss this great Member of the Senate, but his spirit will live on in this Chamber.

Mr. SMITH of New Jersey. Mr. President, the passing of ARTHUR VANDENBERG is a great personal sorrow to me and an irreplaceable loss to our country. Ever since I have been a Member of the Senate I have had the privilege of being closely associated with him and have been proud to share with him a common point of view in public life, and especially in foreign affairs. He was a guiding light to many of us through his vision of what might be built out of the wreck of World War II, and he dedicated his own life to the realization of that vision.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG saw the vital importance of a united all-American foreign policy in these critical times. He believed that this objective could be achieved if all of us stood

above the plane of partisan differences in the making of foreign policy. During his last years of active service in the Senate, under his unparalleled leadership, this goal of unpartisanship was more nearly attained than ever before.

It is my deep conviction that we may be able to reunite America if we can reflect in our own actions the courage, vision, and integrity of this inspired statesman. The world has lost a great international citizen. We, in the Senate, have lost a beloved, personal friend.

Mr. HILL. Mr. President, I wish to join in tribute to our departed friend, Senator VANDENBERG. The record of his achievements here is one of the most brilliant in all the annals of the Senate. But I like to think of him most as the man who was wise enough and brave enough and big enough to change his mind. He become a towering figure in the cause of peace. He was a mighty leader for our country in its leadership for the building of the peace. A giant in intellect, in courage, in devotion, and in lofty patriotism, has in truth this day fallen. It may well be said of him as was said of another great American:

> He held his place—
> Held the long purpose like a growing tree—
> Held on through blame and faltered not at praise.
> And when he fell in whirlwind, he went down
> As when a lordly cedar green with boughs
> Goes down with a great shout upon the hills
> And leaves a lonesome place against the sky.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG is gone, and there is a lonesome place against the sky.

Mr. IVES. Mr. President, I rise to pay heartfelt tribute to the memory of our beloved and most distinguished colleague, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, whose untimely death all of us mourn. I pay tribute to him not alone because he was one of the most outstanding statesmen of his day and generation; not alone because, through clarity of thought and expression and persuasion, he was able to contribute so much

to united national thinking on matters of foreign policy; not alone because of his own preeminence as leader in the determination of vital aspects of our Nation's foreign policy; but also because he was so human and so friendly and so kind in his day-to-day relationships with us who were his colleagues in the Senate and with all who were privileged to know him. In his passing, each one of us has lost a true and loyal friend.

During the last days of his illness while we in the Senate have been distraught by controversy and confusion over grave questions of foreign policy, I have thought frequently of this great American and of his consummate wisdom and simplicity in resolving complicated issues which sometimes seemed to defy solution. We who knew him well remember vividly that he possessed the gift of being able to discern the "common denominator," as he termed it, in every great question to which he turned his attention. By penetrating approach and forthright analysis he revealed issues for what they were and defined their "common denominators" so that all could see and comprehend them.

At the same time, recognizing the dynamic, ever-changing nature of national and world conditions, he seemed never to regard as completely final any conclusion he may have reached on controversial phases of these conditions. His thinking followed no narrow groove terminating in a blind alley. He was without prejudice or base motive. Rather, with flexibility of mind and sympathetic understanding, he perceived the emotions, the ambitions, and the viewpoints of those about him, and thus appreciating human strength and weakness, he was able to reconcile in large measure the differences among those who served with him and to bring them into substantial agreement on conclusions he had reached. Yet he possessed deep convictions and an abiding faith which served him well as chart and compass for every course of action on which he had embarked.

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG

The long illness and death of ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG have been truly a world tragedy. With all respect to his contemporaries, I know of none to take his place.

But out of the sorrow of the hour we can derive some measure of solace as we consider ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S long and distinguished career in the service of his country, and his devotion to the cause of peace and justice everywhere. Reflecting upon his personality and character and his method of doing things, we can derive inspiration and new courage to meet the challenge of the hour, and, meeting it, to overcome the obstacles that confront us.

His mantle falls on all of us. It remains for us to accept it and to assume the obligation which it imposes upon us.

Mr. LODGE. Mr. President, a mighty oak has fallen. We in the Senate have lost a wonderful friend and colleague; the United States has lost one of the most resourceful and farsighted defenders in our history; and the world has lost a statesman whose leadership was doing more than we can now describe to bring the world to a state of just and durable peace.

My own friendship with ARTHUR VANDENBERG began with my membership in the Senate in January of 1937. We saw each other constantly—officially and socially. Just as he was a most accomplished and skillful legislator, so was he a delightful and warm-hearted friend. His intellectual force was such that even in the late 1930's, at a time when the majority party was so overwhelmingly strong, legislation bearing his name would be enacted into law.

He was one of those who felt that our people had come to America in an important degree to avoid the wars of the Old World, and he was, in his own characteristic phrase, an "insulationist," who sought to insulate America from wars. He defended his viewpoint with a degree of skill, honesty, and conviction which were memorable. But when the facts of science and of world strategy and politics ruth-

lessly showed him that it was impossible to insulate America, he had the courage to face these facts. Like all truly great men, he respected facts and changed as facts changed, because he was, above all, valiant for truth.

The man who had been such a convincing exponent of the insulation of America became the outstanding leader of the idea that American foreign policy must take the lead in preserving peace and the corollary to that idea that if war should come American foreign policy must see to it that we have effective allies—people who are not merely on our side for the free ride, but who will really help. He was thus a leading factor in creating the United Nations. He was one of the most eloquent spokesmen for the idea which must be basic in all American programs of foreign aid—that our aid is only extended if there is continuous and effective self-help and mutual aid by the recipient nations. The Greek and Turkish aid bill, the Economic Cooperation Act, otherwise known as the Marshall plan, and the North Atlantic Treaty have his name written large upon them. I often felt that his sense of responsibility and his influence extended even beyond the legislative process to the administration of some of this legislation. He was thus a constructive factor both in the administrative and legislative spheres.

He enunciated and raised to the dignity of a great principle of government the idea that matters of foreign policy should never be approached from the standpoint of political advantage. He made it clear—"crystal clear," to use his own phrase—that this did not mean that an administration's foreign policy should be approved when it was wrong. On the contrary, it was in such a case the duty of every Senator to express his honest criticism. But it very definitely did mean to him that an administration should not be attacked when it was right.

It is easier to set down some of the things that Senator VANDENBERG emphatically was not rather than to attempt to describe his many remarkable qualities. He definitely was

not the politician who unreasonably allows himself to be blown along by whatever gusts of political wind, fanned either by ignorance or by selfish individual motives, happen to be blowing. He was a skillful legislative fighter, but he sought to fight on the merits of issues and never pitched his whole campaign to a technicality or to a procedural question. He did not blurt, or beat his breast, or pose as having an exclusive copyright on wisdom and patriotism, although he was stern and emphatic when the occasion demanded.

He had great skill in expressing himself accurately, clearly and dramatically. He had far-reaching vision and complete courage. He had a positive genius for seeing what was in the other man's mind and in trying to get the best of that man's thought to formulate agreements which embodied the best of everybody's thinking. He believed the great strength of democracy lies in the fact that the best thoughts of a group of men lead to a stronger and wiser result than that of even one brilliant and remarkable man. He saw the good in other men and never hesitated generously to proclaim it.

For long I thought of him as a man who, by every standard that can be named, was superbly qualified to be the President of the United States.

His skill, his courage, and his patriotic principles were matched by a calm unruffled, and serene quality of mind and soul which is seldom seen. As the Senator from Colorado [Mr. Millikin] has said, on his desk was always a sign bearing the words: "And this too shall pass." One felt that this sense of resignation, of humility, and of acceptance of the will of God was a big part of his philosophy. He seemed to be a man who could take whatever life brought—and life brought him much of brilliant worldly success and achievement and of deep personal tragedy and sorrow.

We cannot even begin to list his accomplishments, let alone evaluate them; they are too many. His passing means for me the loss of a dear friend whom I loved and admired—

and words are never equal to describe these personal feelings. His fellow Americans, grieving at the announcement of his death, might well say of him what was said in Pilgrim's Progress: "So Valiant-for-Truth passed over and all the trumpets sounded for him on the other side."

Mr. GILLETTE. Mr. President, as I listened to my fellow Senators expressing the depth of their grief and bereavement at the passing of our late colleague from Michigan, over and over in my mind I have been repeating a verse from the poignant little poem The Last Leaf:

They say that in his prime,
Ere the pruning knife of Time
Cut him down,
Not a better man was found
By the crier on his round
Through the town.

Mr. President, my memory goes back to the Seventy-fifth Congress when, with the turn of the tide of political fortune, only 17 members of the Republican Party remained on the other side of the aisle. Because it was a physical impossibility to seat 79 Members on this side of the aisle, I was one of the new Senators who were assigned to sit on the other side of the aisle. It was my very good fortune to be given a seat adjoining that of the lamented Senator from Michigan. In those early months of my service in the Senate, it was my great privilege to have the benefit of his tutelage, his guidance, and his unfailing interest.

Mr. President, it is saddening to think back and to realize that of that small group of Republican Senators who were occupying seats in the Senate at that time the pruning knife of Time has already cut down the Senator from Oregon, Charles L. McNary, who was the minority leader at that time; Hiram Johnson, of California; George W. Norris, of Nebraska; William E. Borah, of Idaho; and now ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, of Michigan. The names of other equally illustrious Senators

on this side of the aisle, have also been stricken from the roll of the membership of the Senate.

But, Mr. President, it is encouraging and somewhat comforting to think that, while the name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG has been stricken from the roll of Senate membership by a simple physical fact, the name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG remains on memory's roll for every one of us who has been privileged to serve with him in this body, and will remain there so long as memory persists.

The name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG will remain on friendship's roll for those of us who had the rare privilege of enjoying the richness of his affection and interest and generosity. And the name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG will always remain on history's roll of the long list of Senators who have served ably, efficiently, and effectively in the interest of our great Nation.

They say that in his prime,
Ere the pruning knife of Time
Cut him down,
Not a better man was found
By the crier on his round
Through the town.

Mr. BRIDGES. Mr. President, I have been very deeply touched and personally grieved to learn that death has taken ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. We have known for several months that he was fighting a losing battle and that his passing was imminent. Nevertheless, those of us who loved him as a close personal friend have never given up the feeling that while there was life, there was yet the hope that he would again return to this Chamber.

My personal memories of this great and distinguished American are very warm. I often recall the fatherly affection with which he greeted me when I came to the United States Senate in 1937. He was the last of those Republican Senators who were here at that time to greet a newcomer.

Even then he was recognized as more than a Republican Senator. He was a party spokesman and a statesman. He

was always ready to advise, to caution, to offer his wise and kindly consultation to a newcomer.

Few men have had the high privilege of serving their country as a member of the United States Senate during the more than two decades which have marked the historic career of ARTHUR VANDENBERG. His tenure has been during a period which offered a challenge to American leadership, and it may be truly said that he was one of those who met the challenge of his times.

The outstanding service to America rendered by Senator VANDENBERG is well known, not only to his colleagues here today but also to thoughtful persons throughout the Nation and the world. But it is the warm and human personality we knew as "VAN" that crowds my thoughts today.

During the last 10 years he served in the United States Senate, I had the privilege of sitting beside him on this side of the aisle. It was a great privilege, for I came to know his fresh reactions, his love of a humorous story, and his real humility.

I cannot help but note one of history's peculiar coincidences. Today the Nation honors General MacArthur and mourns Senator VANDENBERG. It was but a few short years ago that Senator VANDENBERG was the candidate of many Republicans for the presidential nomination of his party. Even so, the Senator openly advocated the nomination of the general. I can recall many conversations with him on the subject of General MacArthur. It was but another example of the Senator's selfless devotion to the interests of his country first.

Senator VANDENBERG holds another unique distinction. To my knowledge he is one of the few men who refused the nomination of vice presidential candidate of his party when the nomination was offered to him.

This friendly man we knew so affectionately as "VAN" came to the Senate from the fourth estate. As in the case of so many others, it afforded him a most helpful background

His newspaper experience enabled him to have a wide grasp of the problems of the people and, at the same time, an intimate knowledge of how people think and how they react. I have often thought that many of the notable compromises Senator VANDENBERG achieved on this floor were made possible by his intimate understanding of human nature.

Senator VANDENBERG never lost touch with the newspaper world. He was on extremely cordial terms with members of the press. We can all recall those occasions when he would go to the Press Gallery, seat himself at an unused typewriter, and hammer out those statements which had such a profound effect on the course of human events.

I have lost a great personal friend. All of us have lost a great source of inspiration. The United States has lost a great statesman. The free people of the world have lost a great leader.

Mr. CAIN. Mr. President, ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a great Senator of the United States, and because of that he was even greater as a citizen of Michigan and of our Republic. ARTHUR VANDENBERG did all he could while among us to make the world free and decent and honest. He always spoke his mind against the background of his conscience and heart. Against opposition and in spite of obstacles, he always did what he thought was right. As a man, he was gracious, considerate, and fair. As a public servant, he was fearless and bold. He responded to failures and defeats by mounting new and stronger assaults against his objectives. He responded to successes with modesty and with continuing support for the objectives which had been gained. ARTHUR VANDENBERG was never satisfied with half measures. Out of the fullness of his intellect and courage, he knew that no soundly conceived objective was unobtainable.

In every generation there are those men who are pillars of might and right. ARTHUR VANDENBERG was such a man. The junior Senator from Washington shares the pride the family

of ARTHUR VANDENBERG hold for the attainments of the late senior Senator from Michigan. As one who possessed a full measure of affection and friendship for ARTHUR VANDENBERG, I share the grief of his family for the loss of their constant and loving friend and father. Let them despair not for the memory of the father will become a more treasured heritage with the passing of each day.

Mr. LEHMAN. Mr. President, the Nation and the world have suffered a great loss in the passing of Senator VANDENBERG.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a great American and a great citizen of the world, who devoted his full strength, wisdom, and leadership, without thought of self, to the service of his country and of the peoples of the free world. He saw clearly that freedom is indivisible, and that in order to preserve our liberties we had to be willing to sacrifice, and if necessary to fight for them.

I knew Senator VANDENBERG long before I came to this great body. I considered him, and shall always consider him, one of the wisest men I have ever known. I recall that in 1948 he made a great speech on the subject of foreign policy, at Freedom House. After I reached my home I wrote him as follows:

OCTOBER 14, 1948.

Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.

MY DEAR SENATOR VANDENBERG: I can't refrain from sending you a line to let you know again how much I enjoyed your speech at Freedom House last Sunday and how deeply impressed I was with it. It is not often that one can agree with every part of a long public address. In this instance I could do so wholeheartedly. My congratulations and my thanks.

With kind personal regards and best wishes, I remain,
Yours very sincerely,

Mr. President, Senator VANDENBERG was a stanch supporter of international cooperation. I shall always remember with deepest appreciation the encouragement which he gave me

as Director General of UNRRA, and the constant support which he gave that great international organization, the first operating international organization in which this country engaged.

I feel a deep sense of loss in the passing of Senator VANDENBERG. The world is richer for his life. The world mourns the passing of a great and beloved leader.

Mr. THYE. Mr. President, I wish to join with the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Ferguson] and other Senators in paying tribute to our distinguished and beloved colleague, Senator VANDENBERG. His passing has brought sorrow to all his colleagues in the Senate who knew him as a warm friend, as well as a most eloquent and distinguished leader. His departure is a great loss to the American people at a time when his sure voice, his broad spirit, and his deep conception of world problems are so much needed.

Here was a great leader among us. Here was a man unafraid to reexamine his thinking in the light of world developments. Here was one who exemplified better than any other leader of our time the spirit of unity in American foreign policy. His stature as a great statesman is assured. Others will come to occupy his seat in the Senate, but no one can take his place.

The world understood our country better because of the voice of this great American. His spirit and his ideals will live and grow because they are fundamentally sound and right. And that will be this Nation's monument to ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

Mr. TAFT. Mr. President, I do not know of any series of events that caused me so much personal sadness as the illness and death of Arthur and Hazel Vandenberg.

When I came to the Senate in 1939, ARTHUR VANDENBERG had been here for 10 years, and he and Charley McNary were the leaders of the Republicans. I shall never forget Senator VANDENBERG's kind treatment of a freshman Senator, the good

advice he gave me, and the friendship he showed me in all the problems I had to meet.

As stated by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Gillette] the Republican tide had reached a low ebb in the previous Congress, and even in 1939 there were only 27 Republican Senators. As the number increased, I had the privilege of working closely with ARTHUR VANDENBERG in the reorganization which was necessary. We established the conference rules which now guide the party in the Senate. He and Wallace White and I were the first elected officers of the Republican Senators, and together in close harmony we worked out the problems which came to us with the growing strength of the minority. He had strong views, and yet he was always willing to discuss the issues before him to find a way in which conflicting views or legislation could be properly reconciled. In all our years here, I do not remember any serious dispute between us. On rare occasions, we quietly agreed to disagree.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a firm believer in American principles of liberty, justice, and equality. He hated Government bureaucracy and arbitrary Executive power. He hated war. He explored every avenue and supported every policy by which peace might be established and maintained in the world. He believed in the League of Nations. He believed later in the development of an international organization for peace. He helped draw the United Nations Charter, although he was seriously handicapped by the faults which had been written into the very texture of the Charter at Dumbarton Oaks. He managed to write into the United Nations Charter some of the principles of justice and law which had been entirely omitted from the original draft. He had an even greater hand in the Inter-American Pact written at Rio, and made substantial improvements in that pact over the provisions of the United Nations Charter. In the gradual development of a successful organization for law and justice between nations and the maintenance of peace, the name of

ARTHUR VANDENBERG will always stand high as one of those who made the greatest step forward.

He was a great Republican leader. He was a great American leader. I have lost a close personal friend. The Senate and the Nation have lost one of their greatest statesmen.

Mr. YOUNG. Mr. President, I wish to express my sorrow over the passing of ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, a man whom I am sure history will record as one of our greatest statesmen. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG possessed many fine qualities. Few men were endowed with so many of the finest qualities of the human race. I think perhaps his best quality was his ability to compromise conflicting interests without sacrificing principle.

Mr. President, one of my most cherished memories will be that of my association and friendship with ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

Mr. WELKER. Mr. President, on behalf of the younger Members on the Republican side of the United States Senate, I should like, speaking extemporaneously, to express the extreme regret we freshmen Members of the Senate feel over the loss of this distinguished man. It was not our honor, it was not our privilege to have known and to have worked with this great American. He certainly must have been a great man, a man of profound knowledge and ability and wisdom, to have brought forth such wonderfully fine tributes from his fellow Senators.

Mr. President, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG was close to the people of Idaho. For that reason, when the senior Senator from Idaho, the immortal William E. Borah, died, he left no closer friend than Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG. When the Nation and the Congress saw fit to pay tribute to the great Borah by having his statue placed in Statuary Hall, adjoining this Chamber, Mrs. Mary Borah and the people of Idaho asked that that great, fine friend of Senator Borah make the dedicatory oration.

Mr. President, it seems altogether too cruel that two great Senators should have passed away since we younger Members of the Senate have been here—less than 4 months. Both of them did well for their country.

Mr. President, the world will be the poorer by reason of the death of Senator VANDENBERG. Perhaps in our lifetime we will not again have the opportunity of hearing such words of wisdom as he gave to his colleagues and to his country.

I wish to say to the now senior Senator from Michigan [Mr. Ferguson] that we of Idaho and we of the younger Members on the Republican side of the United States Senate, join with all other Senators in sending our profound regrets to the loved ones of Senator VANDENBERG, our departed brother, whom he left behind.

May God rest his soul in peace and comfort. May his loved ones receive comfort from the expressions of a grateful Nation.

Mr. NEELY. Mr. President——

> Oh for a Muse of fire, that would ascend
> The brightest heaven of invention,
> A kingdom for a stage, princes to act
> And monarchs to behold the swelling scene!

Then, indeed, should our illustrious, departed friend, the renowned late senior Senator from Michigan ARTHUR VANDENBERG, be paid a tribute in keeping with our love for him, and we who mourn his loss should learn a lesson from this solemn service—the ennobling precepts of which would urge us on from humbler to higher things. We should go forth with our strength renewed, "to mount up with wings as eagles, to run and not be weary, to walk and not faint."

Twice in the last 6 weeks relentless, all-devouring death has preyed upon the membership of the Senate. Again the silver cord has been loosed, the golden bowl broken, the pitcher broken at the fountain, and the wheel broken at the cistern. Again dust has returned to the earth, and the spirit unto God who gave it. Again the mourners go about the

streets. They are weeping for Senator VANDENBERG as Rachael in Rama wept for her children and would not be comforted, because they were not.

With tear-dimmed eyes, bowed heads, and saddened hearts we pay our feeble tribute of affection and esteem to this famous colleague, who was one of the world's outstanding statesmen. Until after he was fatally stricken, he was one of the most able, active, and useful Members of the Senate. He was rich in intellect, sound in judgment, boundless in charity, great in heart, and grand in soul. He was an apostle of peace without a superior and with few, if any, peers. During the most perilous time in the history of the Nation—

> One blast upon his bugle horn
> Were worth a thousand men!

Senator VANDENBERG, after entering the political arena, rapidly won high and lasting honors so numerous that they cannot be appropriately discussed on this occasion.

His constituents were the men, women, and children of Michigan, whom he never failed to remember, never forgot to serve and never ceased to love. But the objects of his constant solicitude were the people of every race and every place beneath the stars. His great work in behalf of universal peace has ended but his fame will live on and on until—

> 'Till the sun grows cold,
> And the stars are old,
> And the leaves of the Judgment Book unfold.

In the deepest humility and in sorrow that defies all the delineating powers of tongue and pen, we extol Senator VANDENBERG'S brilliant accomplishments, laud his never-failing devotion to duty and eulogize the shining characteristics that made his life a priceless asset to the Nation and his death an irreparable loss to his State, the Republic, and the world.

A more capable, conscientious, courageous forensic champion was never elected to the Senate. He illumined every

question he discussed, graced every cause he espoused, dignified every task he touched, and hallowed every duty he performed.

On a certain occasion Boswell said to Dr. Johnson:

Mr. Burke is the greatest man in Parliament.

The doctor replied:

Sir, Mr. Burke is the greatest man everywhere.

Mr. President, certainly Senator VANDENBERG was one of the greatest men of his generation, not only in the Senate but everywhere.

God grant that we may daily emulate his lofty example of placing the welfare of the Nation above the welfare of all political parties and service to humanity above all selfish temptations and above all materialistic considerations. Thus let us help to speed the day on which wisdom, goodness and mercy shall—

Ring out the slowly dying cause
And ancient forms of party strife;
Ring in the nobler modes of life,
With sweeter manners, purer laws.
Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land;
Ring in the Christ that is to be.

Illustrious patriot, beloved colleague, model husband, devoted father, faithful friend, a long farewell.

All our hearts are buried with you,
All our thoughts go onward with you!
Come not back again to labor,
Come not back again to suffer,
Where the famine and the fever
Wear the heart and waste the body.
Soon our task will be completed,
Soon your footsteps we shall follow
To the islands of the blessed,
To the land of the hereafter!

As we resume our consideration of the manifold problems that are perplexing the Nation and distressing the world, let us find comfort in the hope and belief that the sainted Senator VANDENBERG and all who mourn his loss will eventually be united in "that realm where the rainbow never fades," where no one ever grows old, where friends never part and loved ones never say good-by.

Mr. HICKENLOOPER. Mr. President, the eulogies, the praise and the affection expressed by other Senators on this floor this afternoon for ARTHUR VANDENBERG have been expressed far better than I myself could do. Therefore, I wish to associate myself with the fine, human, and understanding sentiments which others have so ably stated.

However, Mr. President, I could not in conscience fail today to express my own personal grief at the loss of a man who has done much for me and for my appreciation of public service in the few short years I have known him as has ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

I knew him before I came to the Senate 6 years ago, but not intimately. Shortly after I came to the Senate as a junior Senator from my State, fate or circumstance threw us together in two very intimate capacities. The atomic bomb had just been exploded over Japan; and the world was shaken by that great, unknown force, that new power which speculators said might destroy the sea and the air and the land of the world. ARTHUR VANDENBERG, while then devoting much of his time to international matters was, I believe, the first Member of the Congress of the United States to grasp the significance of the necessity for a vigorous and farsighted control mechanism for atomic energy, and he filed in the Senate the first resolution looking toward the responsibilities of the Government to control this great force for peace. Thereafter, he became the ranking Republican member of the special committee to write that unique and unprecedented legislation. It was as a member of that special

committee that I first began intimate legislative association with him.

The present law on atomic energy bears in every one of its major provisions the hallmark of his craftsmanship in the committee having jurisdiction of that subject. There was breadth in his judgment and vision, he had a firm determination to meet not only the responsibilities of government, but to protect the rights of the citizen in pioneering in this great new field. The integrity of his views came to light in our association, and I began to appreciate not only the breadth of his vision and statesmanship, but that other too rare quality in human beings, the complete willingness to accept statements of divergent views by others, readily acknowledge what might be good in them, and seek to fit those portions into the program, which he believed in the main to be good.

It has been said today that, in the broadest and highest sense of the word, Senator VANDENBERG was a compromiser. I have never in my association with him known him to compromise on principle. I have seen him attempt to take apart ideas and lay out the bare skeleton not only of his own ideas but of the suggestions of others to get to the real issue. It was as a result of that quality that during the 2 years he served as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, he was able to accomplish the phenomenal record of an unbroken line of 13-to-0 votes on foreign policy, one of the greatest tributes to a man and one of the greatest tributes to leadership which can be paid.

I have referred to my association with him as a member of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy. The associations on that committee are intimate indeed, because they are not, in the main, public activities.

It was my good fortune and my rare privilege to serve with Senator VANDENBERG for 4 years upon the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate, during 2 years of which he was chairman, being the ranking Republican member of the committee the other 2 years. He was not only a vigorous

leader, but he had all the warmth of human consideration one could ask or expect in a fellow human being.

He inspired confidence, because he acted on principle and on fundamentals. There was nothing petty, there was never any scheming, never any conniving, never any caprice, in his approach to public problems. He was indeed a vigorous, stanch, and loyal leader of his own party; but he was a Republican leader second to being a great American leader, whose aim was the good of all the people.

In my association with ARTHUR VANDENBERG on the two committees I have mentioned there were many occasions when matters arose which went vitally to the question of the best interests and even of the security of the United States of America itself. He was stalwart and vigorous in his grasp of the problems, and there were occasions, to my knowledge, Mr. President, when the very sovereign integrity of this Nation was preserved almost single-handedly through the courage and the forthrightness of ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

I shall not attempt to praise him any more than he has been praised by those who have preceded me, but I venture the statement that in the scroll of those architects who from time to time have contributed to the building of this great, growing, expanding Republic of ours, this structure where the hope of human freedom is kept alive, in that scroll of the great and leading architects of this unfolding scheme of human liberty, the name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG will for all time be among those at the top of the list.

I express my sympathy to his children and to all his loved ones, and I again state that the loss of a great friend, the loss of a great American, brings grief indeed to those of us who knew him and who loved him.

Mr. MUNDT. Mr. President, it was not my good fortune to serve in the United States Senate for more than 2 years during the time that ARTHUR VANDENBERG was active as a Member of this body, but I wish to identify myself this

afternoon with the fine words of deserved tribute which have been spoken about our departed colleague.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a great American. About 2 weeks ago I was invited to address a public gathering of fellow townsmen of ARTHUR VANDENBERG in Grand Rapids, Mich. During the day that I spent in his home town I was convinced over and over again of the fact that the entire population was in a status of semimourning, because those who lived in Grand Rapids knew that the hour was drawing close when ARTHUR VANDENBERG would no longer be among them.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG held the affection and the esteem and the confidence of everyone whom I saw in the city of Grand Rapids, from those who drove the taxicabs and those who carried our grips to the hotel room to the people in the banks, the people in the stores of the city, and the leaders of the community, because ARTHUR VANDENBERG had the capacity of friendship. He was a friend to all who knew him and to all the people with whom he came in contact.

I have some personal recollection of that fact, Mr. President, because when I had served in the House of Representatives for but a short time ARTHUR VANDENBERG came to me as the first, and I suspect, the only, Member of this body to suggest to me that if the opportunity should ever come he would like to have me run as a candidate for Senate in an effort to become a Member of this august deliberative body, the Senate of the United States.

He came to South Dakota and campaigned for the causes in which he believed. When I eventually came from the House of Representatives to the Senate, he called me into his office many times to counsel with me and to give me advice—advice to a very unimportant junior Senator from a State of sparse population. I appreciated it. It meant much to me.

So often, Mr. President, at the close of a man's career we seem to think only of the last few accomplishments or achievements of a long career of public service. Sometimes we comment only on the victories which have been achieved.

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG

I think of ARTHUR VANDENBERG in connection with some of the great crusades in which he fought, where the tides of popular opinion were running against him at the time. I recall his sterling fight in 1936 and 1938 and 1940 in behalf of a position of government which he believed to be sound, against stupendous political odds. I recall stumping with him and hearing him speak in the political hustings against a wave of public opinion and a political tide which were pretty difficult to overcome.

I recall also the great battles he fought in and out of Congress, before 1941, against America's entrance into World War II. I recall the many speeches he made in the Senate and outside the Senate, cautioning against moves which he believed might edge us closer to the brink of war. I recall the bitter criticism he had to endure in both of those losing crusades, those campaigns of futility. I recall the caustic cartoons, the slanderous statements, the bitter criticism, the mean remarks; but I am happy that so many persons who attacked him then have come to acclaim him now. ARTHUR VANDENBERG, both in the battles which he lost and in those which he won, was the same sterling American, battling to the best of his judgment, and in the light which God gave him to see the facts, for causes in which he fervently believed.

Mr. President, I recall sitting many nights, and early in the morning hours, in the conference room in conferences between the Senate Foreign Relations Committee and the House Foreign Affairs Committee, of which I was then a member, soon after World War II was over, when we were trying to write programs and to develop activities to help to preserve the peace. Certainly in the conference room he demonstrated that great quality which the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Hickenlooper] has mentioned, to bring important men with different points of view to reconcile a conflict in opinion and in attitude, and to hold a conference in being until finally it had agreed upon the salient factors which the majority of its members believed were sound.

I admired ARTHUR VANDENBERG for the great fight he made for what came to be called bipartisan foreign policy. I admired him for the great fight he made in connection with ECA. I admired him likewise for the equally sturdy fight he made against our Asiatic foreign policy, because ARTHUR VANDENBERG called them as he saw them. His ardor and support for a foreign policy which he felt might help to preserve peace was as great but no greater than his position, both in public and in the committee room, against an Asiatic foreign policy which he felt was suicidal in its structure.

Mr. President, America has lost a mighty leader in the passing of ARTHUR VANDENBERG. We have all lost a dear friend. I recall his son Arthur, telling me in Grand Rapids, shortly before the end, when Senator VANDENBERG was passing from short periods of consciousness into long periods of coma, that in those moments of consciousness he was always solicitous about the Senate, curious to know about our deliberations, speaking about the future of America, because he loved the Senate. He was never one to pull down the standards of the Senate, never one meekly to delegate the authorities which the Constitution gave the Senate, never one to surrender to the Executive any of the prerogatives which he rightfully felt belonged to the Senate.

So, Mr. President, we have lost a stalwart warrior in the field of government, in the field of world affairs, and in the field of the ceaseless battle in which man finds himself arrayed against the state and in which the free legislative bodies remaining in the world are always found on the side of man against the all-embracing state.

My sympathies go out to this family. I know that the memory of ARTHUR VANDENBERG is long going to serve as a tutor and a lodestar to freemen around the world.

Mr. SALTONSTALL. Mr. President, the feelings I have entertained toward ARTHUR VANDENBERG have been beautifully stated by Senators who have preceded me, but I would feel deeply remiss if I did not express on this occasion my

personal gratitude and thankfulness for his friendship and advice to me on many different occasions in the years in which I have been a Member of this body. I shall miss him as a friend, and we all shall miss his knowledge and advice on the many difficult questions of foreign policy which will face us in the days to come.

My heart and my sympathy go out to Senator VANDENBERG's daughters and to his son.

Mr. ECTON. Mr. President, it was with a deep sense of loss and sorrow that I learned that ARTHUR VANDENBERG had passed from this earthly life. The Nation has truly lost a great man. All Senators who have been privileged to know him have lost a very kind and understanding friend.

I remember that when I first became a Member of the Senate it was Senator VANDENBERG who gave me timely counsel. It was Senator VANDENBERG who gave to me that sympathetic understanding and friendship which were so valuable to me on becoming a Member of the Senate. He had a dynamic personality, and his addresses were couched in carefully chosen words. His foresight, based upon his wide experience and knowledge of history and of the past, enabled him to give the kind of advice which was acceptable and worth while. He gave it without imposing on anyone his will or his convictions. He did it by his faith and his understanding. I valued highly the privilege of knowing this great and beloved man. The Nation will miss him. We all will miss him.

Mr. CAPEHART. Mr. President, today America and the world mourn the loss of a great leader and statesman.

United States Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG gave to his country and to the cause of world peace the great sacrifice of mankind.

I am proud of my acquaintance with such a person as Senator VANDENBERG whose leadership I respected greatly.

He will be missed in the Senate; he will be missed by the people of Michigan; he will be missed by the people of the world, but his soul and his deeds shall live forever.

Mr. WHERRY. Mr. President, I wish to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle who have so eloquently paid just tribute to the memory of ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. When the distinguished Senator from Colorado [Mr. Millikin] in his eloquent words expressed the personal relationships which he had had with ARTHUR VANDENBERG, when the distinguished Senator from Massachusetts [Mr. Lodge] set forth feelingly the relationship which he had had with him, and when the ranking minority member of the Committee on Foreign Relations [Mr. Bridges] recited his close relationships with him on the committee, it brought to my mind that I, too, had had some very personal relationships with ARTHUR VANDENBERG in an entirely different way. Although the relationships were rather simple, yet I think they may teach a lesson to all of us in the Senate. More than once in the past 3 years ARTHUR VANDENBERG has come to the junior Senator from Nebraska and said, "What are you going to do for the remainder of the afternoon?"

I would try to tell him what the program was. Then he would say, "Ken, I am suffering intense pain."

He suffered terrible headaches and pains throughout his body. The expressions on his face would indicate that he was trying to overcome his suffering, as he stood on the floor and performed his work as a Senator. Yet he would not go back to his office, but would continue to participate in the work of the Senate. As the tributes were being paid to him this afternoon, particularly with reference to his oratorical talent, his power to think, his ability to lead, and his great service on the Committee on Foreign Relations, it seemed to me that each of us could draw the lesson that if we would emulate his industry and devote to our tasks the hours of work which ARTHUR VANDENBERG gave on the floor of the Senate and in

the committees of which he was a member we, too, might ascend the heights he did and accomplish what he accomplished, not only in his committee work and in his work on the floor of the Senate, but in his activities affecting relationships throughout the world.

Mr. President, when I first came to the Senate—we are sort of reminiscing this afternoon—one of the first talks I had with any Member of the Senate was with ARTHUR VANDENBERG. I said to him:

Senator, you are serving your second term. You have been elected by a very large popular vote. How do you manage to keep that vote coming in Michigan?

He said:

You have got to decide which way you are going to go. Either you must go back to your State and build fences and keep up the work of—

As he called it—

a politician, or you must get up on the floor of the Senate and in your committees and demonstrate to your people back home that you are performing a service which merits their patronage.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG had a rule not to accept an invitation to speak on the outside during the sessions of the Senate. I think he varied the rule only once, so far I can remember, and he made that exception, I believe, in a speech he delivered in Michigan. That is another lesson we can learn from the distinguished American, who was so devoted to his work in the United States Senate.

I am satisfied that the majority leader and the Senators who are responsible for carrying out the program of the United States Senate will agree with me and join with me in saying that what we need today more than ever before is men like ARTHUR VANDENBERG. He faithfully discharged his responsibilities on the floor of the Senate and in the legislative committees on which he served.

I wish to leave with my colleagues those two lessons. It is difficult at times to pay appropriate tribute to great statesmen. We try to say so much in such a short time. Somehow our efforts are put to naught. Here are two simple lessons. If Senators will apply them to their everyday work in the Senate, they will not only improve the Senate, but will give to the people of their States the kind of representation they are entitled to, and at the same time afford themselves an opportunity to ascend the ladder and have their names placed in the hall of fame, as ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S name will be placed in the hall of fame for the service he rendered, not only to the Senate but to his country and to the peoples of the earth.

He was a great patriot, a great statesman, a great man. He believed in solidarity. A Senator this afternoon said of ARTHUR VANDENBERG that the thought of partisan politics never even entered his mind when it came to developing a bipartisan foreign policy. He had a vision of making a better world, and he sought by his efforts to accomplish that result. Without vision people perish. Without hope for a better world in which universal brotherhood prevails, we would be unworthy of our trust as Americans. For this is the hope and aspiration embraced in the divine conception of our Republic and this is the objective which Senator VANDENBERG had as his goal.

Progress of all mankind toward complete sovereignty over their governments is slow. In this struggle Senator VANDENBERG was a leader.

The hopes and aspirations of Senator VANDENBERG for solidarity among the American people and the peoples of the free world are attainable, because people everywhere yearn for them.

The times cry aloud for leadership, for the accomplishment of these goals. Senator VANDENBERG'S vision was worldwide.

He strived for solidarity among the American people in facing world situations. He saw no ground for political partisanship in fundamental American principles.

As we survey the stormy world today, it is well for the Congress to examine into foreign and national defense policies, to check them against the principles of our Republic.

Our traditional policy is equal justice to all.

Our traditional policy is against international power politics.

America conducts its relationship with all nations, regardless of size and power, with even-handed justice.

This is the American way.

And in this way America shall go forward, toward security and peace and contentment.

I, too, would like to extend to ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S family my deepest sympathy on the loss of this great American, this great statesman, this great colleague of ours in the Senate.

The VICE PRESIDENT. If there are no further remarks before the resolution is acted upon, the Chair would ask the indulgence of the Senate for a moment. Although I realize that in an hour of grief, when the mind is overshadowed and the sable drapery of mourning is drawn in heavy folds around us, silence is sometimes more eloquent, more expressive, and more impressive than the chaste rhetoric of the scholar or the fleeting declamations of the orator; nevertheless, I feel an impulse to say a word because of the intimate personal relationship which for 23 years existed between ARTHUR VANDENBERG and me, and between his wife, Hazel Vandenberg, and my family.

I came to the Senate on March 4, 1927. He came to the Senate on March 31, 1928. As soon as he arrived, as the appointed successor of Senator Ferris, I recognized his high quality, moral and mental. As the years went on, and I served with him on the Committee on Finance and the Committee on Foreign Relations, our personal relations became more and more intimate. I think I may say that during the whole of this session, almost every day, I have asked someone, chiefly the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Ferguson], and others, about Senator VANDENBERG'S condition, because it had

been announced in the autumn that he hoped to return to the Senate in January, at the beginning of the present Congress.

I shall not undertake to go into his great political record, but I do recall one thing which has lived with me and is vivid now in my memory. While Secretary Hull was the head of the State Department, and before the war had ended, we were promoting and initiating the foundations of the new international organization for peace, the United Nations. Every week a bipartisan or nonpartisan group—whichever one may choose to call it—met in the office of Secretary Hull, and later of Secretary Stettinius, in order to formulate the foundations of the Charter of the United Nations.

I have often recalled to Senator VANDENBERG and to others how at first he cautiously felt his way, planting one foot ahead of the other, feeling out the ground to determine and test its firmness. When he finally determined the firmness of the ground on which he stood, he planted both feet squarely upon that foundation and became one of the most effective and eloquent advocates of this new effort in human affairs to create an international organization for peace, striving to supplant what has in all history been apparently easy, an organization for war, with an international organization for peace in the world.

I recall that on one occasion I was speaking in Michigan in a campaign in which the party to which I owe allegiance was involved. I spoke in the city of Grand Rapids, which was Senator VANDENBERG'S home. I took occasion, though speaking in behalf of an opposition candidate, to pay high tribute to Senator VANDENBERG, which I thought was his due. After the meeting was over, those in charge said to me, "In whose behalf did you come here—VANDENBERG'S or that of our candidate?" Senator VANDENBERG frequently laughed and joked about it, and so did I. I did not express any opinion of him in his home city to which I did not sincerely and deeply feel he was entitled.

The great orator and agnostic, Robert G. Ingersoll, who applied to James G. Blaine the description of the Plumed Knight, once stated that "Life is a narrow vale between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities."

I have never been able to reconcile my beliefs and my conception of life with the idea that it is a narrow vale between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities. It is a narrow vale, no doubt; but it is not a narrow vale, in my belief, between the cold and barren peaks of two eternities.

The past is warm and vibrant with devotion, with loyalty, with the sacrifice of human beings, in the effort to make the world a better place. The future is warm with hope and vibrant for those who seek to earn a place, both in this world and in the next. The same great agnostic who gave this description of life, which is wholly unsatisfactory to me, said when he stood by the grave of his brother, "In the night of death hope sees a star; and listening love can hear the rustle of a wing."

ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S life may have been a narrow vale as compared to the age of the world and of mankind; but he expanded it beyond the narrowness which so frequently clothes existence on this earth, into a fullness not only in public performance, but in private character, which we here may emulate and follow to our advantage and to the advantage of our country.

I am led to quote the last paragraph of the beautiful poem referred to by the Senator from Iowa [Mr. Gillette], The Last Leaf, written by Oliver Wendell Holmes. We all love life; and even the dead leaf which he described loved it so well that it clung to the twig until the sun and rains and warmth of the spring pushed it off to make way for a new bud and a new leaf. Oliver Wendell Holmes said:

And if I should live to be
The last leaf upon the tree
In the spring,
Let them smile, as I do now,
At the old forsaken bough,
Where I cling.

As we think of the life and character and service of ARTHUR VANDENBERG, there comes to mind that beautiful stanza which, as I recall, is to be found in Longfellow's A Psalm of Life:

Life is real! Life is earnest!
And the grave is not its goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returneth,
Was not spoken of the soul.

Surely it was not spoken of ARTHUR VANDENBERG'S soul.

So long as I shall live I shall cherish his memory and the many acts of affectionate friendship which he accorded to me. I join in expressing to his family, to all his friends, to the State of Michigan, and to the whole country, the profound grief which we have expressed here today in the beautiful eulogies which have been spoken in his behalf.

The question is on agreeing to the resolution submitted by the Senator from Michigan [Mr. Ferguson].

The resolution was unanimously agreed to.

The VICE PRESIDENT. The resolution provides for the appointment of a committee. The Chair has not yet been able to complete the list, and will add additional names. However, the Chair would like to announce the names of Senators whom he has selected up to this time. He will add other names if he finds it convenient for other Senators to attend. The clerk will read the list of Senators whose names are now on the list.

The legislative clerk read the names of Mr. Ferguson, Mr. Connally, Mr. Bridges, Mr. Green, Mr. Wiley, Mr. Brewster, Mr. McFarland, Mr. Millikin, Mr. Wherry, Mr. Smith of New Jersey, Mr. Hickenlooper, Mr. Saltonstall, Mr. Young, Mr. Sparkman, Mr. Lodge, and Mr. Benton.

A message from the House of Representatives, by Mr. Maurer, one of its reading clerks, communicated to the Senate the resolutions of the House adopted as a tribute to the memory of Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, late a Sen-

ator from the State of Michigan, and informed the Senate that a committee of 17 Members of the House had been appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, as a further mark of respect to the memory of my distinguished colleague, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, I move that the Senate stand in recess until 12 o'clock noon on Monday next.

The motion was unanimously agreed to; and (at 4 o'clock and 19 minutes p. m.) the Senate took a recess until Monday, April 23, 1951, at 12 o'clock meridian.

MONDAY, *April 23, 1951.*

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a telegram from Mauricio Nabuco, Brazilian Ambassador, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the Record, as follows:

APRIL 19, 1951.

UNITED STATES SENATE,
Washington, D. C.:

On behalf of my Government and my own, I wish to associate myself with the Senate of the United States of America in mourning the loss of Senator Arthur Vandenberg.

MAURICIO NABUCO,
Brazilian Ambassador.

Mr. MARTIN. Mr. President, I have had the honor of hearing many of the splendid tributes paid our colleague, the late Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, of Michigan, and I have read the others. I shall not attempt to repeat the high praise, so truly deserved and so eloquently stated by Senators on both sides of the aisle. However, I want to give my colleagues a brief recital of my first official contact with Senator VANDENBERG.

In the early part of September 1943, the Republican Governors met with several Senators and Members of the House at Mackinac, Mich. The purpose of the meeting was to formulate domestic and foreign policies for the Republican Party.

The Committee on Foreign Relations consisted of Senator VANDENBERG and Senator Austin, Representatives Eaton and Bolton, with Governor Green, of Illinois, and myself representing the Governors.

When we met we found we were far from agreement. There appeared to be six widely divergent views. Senator VANDENBERG was inclined to the isolationist position. Senator Austin favored uniting the liberty-loving nations of the world in defense of freedom and justice. The others held opinions that fell somewhere between the views of these two great men.

Our deliberations were extended late into the night. When we had finished our statement it contained many ideas that were later incorporated into the Charter of the United Nations, formulated at San Francisco.

Senator VANDENBERG was chairman of our committee.

During the entire course of our discussions I was so much impressed by his comprehensive knowledge of national and international affairs and his kindly consideration for the views of others.

Although our paper, when it was finally completed, embraced few of his ideas, Senator VANDENBERG presented the plan we had agreed upon so forcefully that it was unnecessary for any other member to make a single explanation.

At that time I felt that Senator VANDENBERG's presentation was the greatest exemplification of America at its best. We had brought our views together in a spirit of compromise and when a final agreement was reached he accepted it as the decision of all. Although the plan did not include all of his ideas he acted in accordance with the American way of doing things.

When I came to the Senate, Senator VANDENBERG was most helpful and encouraging. I shall greatly miss him as a friend and as a great American.

Mr. FERGUSON. Mr. President, I appreciate the remarks of the senior Senator from Pennsylvania with regard to my

late colleague, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. He recalls again to our minds the fact that Senator VANDENBERG did not act alone on these questions, but consulted with the members of his party, and became a leader of the party.

TUESDAY, *April 24, 1951.*

The VICE PRESIDENT laid before the Senate a telegram from Henri Bonnet, French Ambassador, which was ordered to lie on the table and to be printed in the Record, as follows:

APRIL 19, 1951.

The VICE PRESIDENT,
United States Senate,
Washington, D. C.:

The great loss which the United States Senate has sustained at the passing away of Senator Vandenberg will be profoundly felt in France where the prominent part which he played in the forming of the Atlantic policy had gained him confidence and admiration. His devotion and authority in helping to carry out and develop that policy of security through close cooperation of democratic nations in every field will never be forgotten. Please accept and convey to the Members of the Senate the expression of my heartfelt condolences.

HENRI BONNET,
French Ambassador.

MONDAY, *April 30, 1951.*

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to place in the Record the eloquent tribute paid to the late great senior Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, at his funeral services by his pastor and close friend of many years, the Reverend Edward Archibald Thompson, D. D. Dr. Thompson was speaking from the pulpit given by Senator VANDENBERG in honor of his mother to the church he and his family had attended for more than 50 years, the First Congregational Church in Grand Rapids.

This was a remarkable appraisal of a remarkable man, Mr. President, and I ask that it be printed in the Record.

There being no objection, the tribute was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

We have gathered today to pay tribute to one to whom tribute is due. It is not my purpose to eulogize our beloved fellow citizen. That has already been superbly done. I shall speak more specifically about his interests in the things of the spirit.

The text from which I shall speak contains the words of a motto which stood upon Senator VANDENBERG's desk even before he entered into public life and has remained there ever since. "This, too, shall pass." The words are taken from an ancient Arabic or Persian saying, "This, too, shall pass away," which was used through the centuries to remind people that neither great moments of triumph nor sorrow are lasting.

"This, too, shall pass" was a comforting thought to Senator VANDENBERG in time of affliction or disappointment. It gave him faith to meet buoyantly the discouraging experiences of life. Again, when he was on the mountain peak of success, victory, and power (as often he was) a glance at this motto had a sobering influence and a leveling effect. Senator VANDENBERG was not a fatalist. He lived triumphantly in the unfailing belief that there are eternal values in the spiritual things of life.

In a letter written to a friend 2 months ago he said: "The spiritual values of life come surging to the fore. I have a little prayer meeting all by myself each night. What the whole world needs is more confidence and faith."

This pulpit from which I now speak was the gift of Senator VANDENBERG in memory of his mother. The altar and furnishings for the new and yet incomplete chapel were also given by Senator VANDENBERG in memory of his mother. This gift represents the financial portion of his second Collier award for distinguished service in the Senate of the United States. In presenting this memorial he said: "I get a great deal of prideful happiness out of this gift to Park Church. It is a source of continuing joy to me that I have been able to make my contribution to the new facilities of this grand old church, which has been so close to my life and to that of my family."

When asked to participate in the service of dedication for our new chapel, he replied on February 8: "I certainly shall be delighted to send you a message for the dedication which will underscore my deep feeling that our America must turn to its spiritual values in greater degree than ever before as we surmount the crisis which surrounds us."

We are greatly saddened in the fact that he will be unable to be with us in person for that dedication 2 weeks hence, but it is sadly fitting that we were able to use the chapel for the first time this morning in his honor.

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG

Senator VANDENBERG had a profound belief in immortality. "This, too, shall pass." This body has passed. If this were the final chapter, it would indeed be a dismal day. But death is not an end. It is but a turn in the road of life when we are free from the shackles of the physical—free to grow and to be that which we yearn to be at our best. "Be ye perfect even as your Father in heaven is perfect" is no idle command. Somehow, somewhere we shall attain unto our highest ideals and noblest aspirations.

There was a time when I wondered why the Great Creator didn't reestablish the life of a great soul like that of our good friend in a young and vigorous body, where the value of accumulated knowledge and vital experiences could be used to great advantage in the progress of mankind. I do not feel that way now. The physical shall pass away. The temporal is seen, but the eternal is unseen. The great God who will not allow any energy to be lost certainly will not allow the crown of His creation to pass into oblivion.

We have faith that this ripe and powerful life shall have a vehicle of expression far more effective and more capable of growth into perfect fellowship with God and with his fellowmen, which is clearly the purpose of life. We mourn the passing of our great leader and friend but we rejoice in the new and greater realm into which he has now entered.

Our Lord's body passed away when He was but a young man, yet He lives today in the lives of millions of men and women the world over who have found life through Him.

Senator VANDENBERG was more concerned about the principles of peace and understanding for which he was fighting than he was about his own health. He knew that those principles could not die and he will continue to live increasingly as the truth of his teachings becomes more clear. Let us pay worthy tribute to him today by rededicating our lives to those principles of peace for which he sacrificed so much. May God raise up men of his high vision, broad understanding, and sturdy character to carry forward the work in which he gave his life.

We are asking the choir to sing "Onward Christian Soldiers" at the conclusion of this service. That triumphant, courageous, marching hymn was one of the Senator's favorites and is so typical of his spirit.

We here give hearty thanks to Almighty God that we have been permitted to have in our midst as a guiding light and an inspiring spirit, this matchless statesman, this wise counselor, this mighty crusader for peace, this patriotic citizen, this loving husband and father, this unfailing friend, this prince among men, ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG.

TUESDAY, *May 8, 1951.*

Mr. MOODY. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Record an editorial from the Christian Science Monitor of April 20 paying tribute to the great departed statesman from Michigan, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

SENATOR VANDENBERG

No American of his day symbolized so well as ARTHUR VANDENBERG his country's response to the world's demand for leadership. None played so crucial a part in building a bridge from isolationism to internationalism.

Essentially a pragmatist, he typified American adaptability, a capacity to learn and to grow. Skilled in the art of reconciling differences in order to get action, he devised practical and popular compromises. Converted from sturdy midwestern provincialism, he understood what was needed to convert others.

As ranking member in 1945 of the powerful Senate Foreign Relations Committee, he could have followed the course of Henry Cabot Lodge in 1920. If he had, enough Republicans might have followed him to repeat with the United Nations the tragic story of America's refusals to join the League of Nations. But ARTHUR VANDENBERG did not believe in defying facts.

It was a dramatic moment when he arose in the Senate 7 months before the end of the war to chart his new course:

"The fraternity of war must be made the fraternity of peace. * * * Our oceans no longer protect our ramparts. * * * No nation can immunize itself hereafter against these disasters by reliance upon itself alone."

From then on the former reporter from Grand Rapids loomed as a world statesman. He did not slavishly accept every project put forward by the majority leaders. But, having accepted the basic concept of internationalism, he did not try to block the practical application of the policy. He did not forego criticism, but aimed it toward perfecting and making politically acceptable the necessary instruments of policy. His hand was visible not only in UN but in reshaping the Truman doctrine, in the Marshall plan, and in the Atlantic Pact.

His work stands as a lasting example of an intelligent American's response to events.

Proceedings
in the
House of Representatives

Proceedings in the House

THURSDAY, *April 19, 1951.*

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, it becomes my very sad duty to announce the passing of the senior Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

Senator VANDENBERG served in the Senate, as one of the greatest men ever to enter public life, for about 25 years.

Mr. Speaker, I offer a resolution (H. Res. 201).

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That the House has heard with profound sorrow of the death of Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, a Senator of the United States from the State of Michigan.

Resolved, That the Clerk communicate these resolutions to the Senate and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That a committee of 17 Members be appointed on the part of the House to join the committee appointed on the part of the Senate to attend the funeral.

The resolution was agreed to.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Ford].

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on this day of great emotion in this Chamber it is most difficult for me to speak my words of tribute concerning a fellow townsman, the great Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. The citizens of his home town are in deep mourning as the result of his passing. This sorrow at home is shared by all of the people throughout the world who truly believe in freedom and liberty.

We of Grand Rapids, Mich., were rightfully proud of the star that had been his and we all hope that his untiring efforts on behalf of humanity and mankind will long endure.

Those who were acquainted with the family rather well, knew of some of the physical difficulties that Senator VANDENBERG endured in the last few years, but until an announcement released by his son after his passing none of us realized the great personal sacrifice that he made over and above the call of duty. For future posterity I think it highly important that this statement be included at this time in the Record.

The following is the statement issued by the Senator's son:

> The long interval between the discovery in 1948 of a tumor and its removal in October 1949, was due to the Senator's firm insistence that his health was of far less importance than his attention to affairs of government.
>
> It will be recalled that then, as an advocate of a unified and bipartisan foreign policy, he played a major role in piloting through Congress such historic measures as the so-called Vandenberg resolution, the North Atlantic Treaty, and the Inter-American Treaty.
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> His inflexible determination to conclude these responsibilities without regard to his personal welfare and against the advice of his doctors unquestionably was a contributing factor in later serious physical disability.

Because of his sacrifices, we in Grand Rapids have lost one of our greatest and finest citizens. The Nation has lost the outstanding statesman of recent times. The people throughout the world who hope for peace, freedom, and security have lost a real leader and the one person who to a large extent is responsible for the ray of hope which is now visible in our struggle against world domination by the Communist forces in the Kremlin.

Senator VANDENBERG in his many years of service in the Senate made an enviable record that will stand as an everlasting inspiration for present and future generations. It is a tragedy that this superb statesman and leader should leave us at this critical hour in our Nation's history, but his record should forever be a guiding light for our people.

America and her allies throughout the world mourn his untimely passing, but it is most fortunate that the world had

the benefit of his leadership and guidance in recent years when the free people of the globe so badly needed men of his unquestioned stature.

In closing I would like to say that my words on this occasion, as inadequate as they may be, are, I hope, those of the people of his home town, his State, this Nation, but I think the people of the world.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Rabaut].

Mr. RABAUT. Mr. Speaker, of Senator VANDENBERG it well could be said that he was one who had a broad view of relations between nations, devoting himself to the principle that all nations of the world can live in peace and prosper if they have a common understanding. One of his major contributions to the peace of the world was his continuing effort to build international organizations through which this mutual international understanding could be nourished and developed. The Government of the United States has lost a great statesman and the peace of the world has lost an untiring friend.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. DONDERO].

Mr. DONDERO. Mr. Speaker, the Nation today mourns the loss of a great leader. A vacancy has been made through the death of one of the Nation's great men. Like the line in Edwin Markham's poem, "He went down with a great shout upon the hills and leaves a lonesome place against the sky." He now goes to fill a place in the immortal roll of illustrious statesmen of the Nation. We shall mourn and miss him in the Wolverine State of Michigan. Long will be the years before another takes his place and discharges his duty to the Nation with such great ability as did ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Dingell].

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, the sad and shocking news late last night announced to the world the end of the brilliant and productive career of ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, the senior Senator from the State of Michigan.

The passing of this great statesman-legislator, who has rendered over the years such outstanding and patriotic service, not only to the people of his own State and to the people of the Nation, but to the entire world, has focused attention upon him. His ability has in recent years been accentuated and recognized in the farsightedness of his contributions toward the upbuilding of the United Nations and the structure of a just and permanent peace. The entire legislative career of the late and beloved senior Senator from Michigan is deeply ingrained with the mark of his wholesome and lasting service.

He was physically a great and attractive personality which was more than matched by his mental and spiritual stature. The occasional error which was attributed to his judgment is a frailty of all humanity and great genius, to which Senator VANDENBERG was no exception. He was gifted in his mental capacity, with great discernment and eloquence. His originality and initiative were a constant test imposed upon an indefatigable and seemingly inexhaustible energy. These qualities were obvious to all, and they were an irresistible inspiration not only to his colleagues in the Senate, but to the world. Aside from the spiritual, mental, and physical charm of the distinguished Senator, who was called by his God and maker to claim his eternal reward, ARTHUR VANDENBERG had a sparkle and attraction that which while felt cannot readily be described.

As the vital chapter of the life of ARTHUR VANDENBERG closes, a new and more brilliant page in history begins. The name of ARTHUR VANDENBERG will be remembered and his great service recalled by the world's statesmen and patriots whenever the cause of peace and economic freedom are mentioned. He takes his place among the greatest names

ever produced in the State of Michigan and his rank among the Nation's intellectual and legislative leaders will be recognized as deserving of the top echelon as long as the record of the United States Senate survives.

Throughout my legislative career of nearly 20 years, especially in the more recent years, I have been brought into more and more intimate contact with the senior Senator from Michigan. This contact grew into a mutual friendship and respect which to me will always be a stimulus and an inspiration. I have observed his enormous persuasive power which has won the support of his senatorial colleagues and, more directly and closely as a member of the Joint Committee on Internal Revenue Taxation and a joint conferee, I have had occasion to study at close hand some of the sound and fundamental arguments which he put forth.

On this sorrowful occasion when the people have sustained such a great personal loss, I want to tender my sincere sympathy to the survivors of my dear and departed friend. It is with a sense of deep affection and reverence that at this moment I pay my humble tribute to him as I pray that God, the Father, grant eternal rest to his weary soul.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Potter].

Mr. POTTER. Mr. Speaker, it was with saddened hearts that we heard the tragic news this morning of the death of our senior Senator, ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

As a freshman Member of Congress a few years ago I will always recall the kindness, the thoughtfulness, the patience, and the guiding hand extended to me by our senior Senator. He and I collaborated on a bill which was for the interest of one of the cities of my district, the city of Sault Ste. Marie, Mich. I am sure if it had not been for the efforts of the senior Senator from Michigan, who at that time was confronted with major international problems, we would not have been successful in having that legislation enacted into law. The State of Michigan has lost its most outstanding

citizen. The Government of the United States has lost a most able and a most courageous legislator. The world has lost a champion for peace and an outstanding world statesman.

On behalf of myself and the citizens of Michigan's Eleventh Congressional District whom it is my privilege to represent, I wish to convey to the Vandenberg family our deepest sympathy. May God grant him peaceful rest and may mortals long remember his unselfish devotion and accomplishments to the attainment of world peace.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from New York [Mr. Javits].

Mr. JAVITS. Mr. Speaker, I read the great address of the Senator from Michigan of January 10, 1945, when I was in the Army. I remember I had just come off duty. I was not in politics in any way at that time. It had an enormous impact on me and had an enormous impact on my fellows. We felt that at last the country was together.

I would like, Mr. Speaker, as part of our tribute to this great man who was the architect of what has come to be the historic bipartisan foreign policy which had so much to do with winning World War II and can have so much to do with winning the peace after World War II, to read just three sentences from that great address. I quote:

> We cannot drift to victory. We must have maximum united effort on all fronts. We must have maximum united effort in our councils and we must deserve the continued united effort of our own people.

Mr. Speaker, I join with my colleagues and, I think, with all Americans, in mourning this very grave loss to our country and to the great State of Michigan and to the world.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Massachusetts [Mr. McCormack].

Mr. McCORMACK. Mr. Speaker, every generation has its outstanding figures, and one of the outstanding figures of

this generation is the late ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. I know of no man who in recent years has made his imprint upon the American mind to a greater extent in the establishment of bipartisan efforts and policies to meet the problems of today than the late Senator VANDENBERG. Every peace-loving person of the world, every soul who hates war mourns today the passing of this great man. The devotion of this great American, this man of fierce enthusiasm for just and enduring peace knew no party lines in his own country and knew no boundaries between nations where the spark of freedom lives in the heart of men. Perhaps more than any other American this warm, friendly, and very able gentleman from Michigan, symbolized by his own growth of perspective the transition of America from the thoughts of yesterday to the thoughts and considerations of world responsibility and leadership.

The late Senator VANDENBERG became one of the architects of American foreign policy which now works for world peace and human liberty by combined international effort to make the democracies and the non-Communist countries of the world so strong that no dictator would dare take the risk of starting a war of conquest. In doing so he flung to the winds all thoughts of partisan advantage or personal sacrifice. His one dream was that America, by presenting a united front, could lead the world to an era of peace without fear.

His own country and the world will never forget ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. We shall remember his dream, and the free world, because he lived, and we will fight more fiercely and forever together to protect its liberties.

I extend to his loved ones my profound sympathy in their bereavement.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Vorys].

Mr. VORYS. Mr. Speaker, we have already felt the loss of Senator VANDENBERG on Capitol Hill, but we know that his

influence lives on. It was my privilege to serve on a number of conference committees with him on some extremely controversial matters. That is where I knew him best. There I got the measure of his breadth and his depth, his wisdom, wit, high ideals, sound judgment, and common sense. This bipartisan foreign policy was a very practical thing as he operated it, because it depended upon consultation, discussion, persuasion, compromise on nonessential differences, but no compromise on matters of principle. It achieved results by giving due credit to both parties in seeking results that were above partisan advantage.

It was a wonderful thing to see Senator VANDENBERG preside in a conference. In my judgment, he not only was a great practitioner of the bipartisan policy but of the bicameral policy, because he understood the differences between the two bodies, the difference in their rules, and the way things had to be brought about. He had no pride of authorship in the language of legislation, but was surpassingly skillful in drafting language that achieved the best in conflicting viewpoints. He had no exalted feeling of his own position, but would promptly seek out the points of agreement, point out the essentials, and very rapidly, as I say, in a witty, winsome way, eliminate the nonessential differences that were keeping us from agreement. The result was some legislation that has played an historic part in the past few years.

Senator VANDENBERG was the man who wrote the word "justice" into the Charter of the United Nations. He will be remembered in history, I think, as a man who stood for justice in international affairs. His influence will live on through the ages.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Machrowicz].

Mr. MACHROWICZ. Mr. Speaker, I rise to join my colleagues on both sides of the aisle to express my profound

and deep sorrow at the tragic and untimely death of the senior Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

In the death of Senator VANDENBERG, the State of Michigan has lost one of its most distinguished sons, but the Nation lost one of its greatest statesmen.

In these critical days of uncertainty and confusion the Nation will sadly miss the leadership, self-sacrifice and deep understanding of the senior Senator from Michigan. He fought incessantly for a strong, bi-partisan foreign policy and he, more than anyone else, can be credited with the success made to take American foreign affairs out of partisan policies. The necessity for this unity was best pointed out by him in his radio address of October 4, 1948: "The purpose of this unity is to strengthen American security and sustain American ideals by giving maximum authority to America's voice for peace with justice. In the face of any foreign problem, our unity is as important as our atom bomb."

We will never forget his self-denial, self-sacrifice and his willingness to have political and personal ambition be always subservient to the welfare of the Nation and to the cause of a just and enduring peace in the world. His devotion to this task was so great that he was willing to neglect his own health and it undoubtedly advanced his untimely death.

Neither can I forget his constant concern over the necessity for the restoration of freedom to Poland and other nations now under the yoke of communistic tyranny. He recognized the fact that there can be no permanent peace unless we apply the principles of justice and fair play to these nations. He expressed himself clearly on this on April 2, 1944, when he said:

"I shall contribute every effort behind the unimpaired rebirth of the great and heroic Polish Republic. We would be lacking in enlightened self-interest if we did not recognize the fact that, for the sake of America as well as for the sake of humanity, we also fight for a better and a safer and a happier world, and for organized international justice and fair

play and security for big and little nations. We fight to unchain liberty in a free world from which international pirates shall be permanently barred by the organized conscience and the united vigilance of freedom. And I know of no better typical test to apply to the progress which we make toward this emancipation than to supply the test to Poland."

Long before I became a Member of this House I had the honor of frequently conferring with Senator VANDENBERG with regard to necessary steps to be taken to insure restoration of freedom to the enslaved nations. I found him deeply interested and willing to do all in his power to repair the injustices caused by the Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam Agreements.

I sincerely hope that his spirit will forever remain with us and will lead us in a program of national unity, in a program to put an end to the tyranny of Communist imperialism and restore peace to a troubled world.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Blackney].

Mr. BLACKNEY. Mr. Speaker, I am very glad to join with my Michigan colleagues and my associates of the House in paying respect to our departed public servant, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. We in Michigan have known him for many years. We know of the splendid work that he has done.

One of his fine books which the Senator wrote was on Alexander Hamilton. He predicated his belief in Hamilton on Hamilton's knowledge of finances and of his close study and early love for the Constitution. Most of you have read Bryce's American Commonwealth. In that book the author said that the "American Constitution is the greatest political document ever penned by man." That was Senator VANDENBERG's philosophy. He lived and loved the Constitution of the United States.

My home State has lost its favorite son, and the Nation has lost a fine Senator, an orator of distinction, a brilliant statesman.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Lesinski].

Mr. LESINSKI. Mr. Speaker, as a new Member of this great House I join my colleagues from Michigan on both sides of the aisle in mourning Senator VANDENBERG, a man from my home State who has done so much for his Nation. To his immediate family, to the people of Michigan and the Nation I express sincere regret at the passing of this great man. His name will stand out with the other immortals of this country and he will always be remembered as a man who placed his country above personal interests, not as so many are doing today, by permitting petty grievances to take precedence.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentlewoman from Michigan [Miss Thompson].

Miss THOMPSON of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, it was my privilege to have known Senator and Mrs. Vandenberg for a period of more than 25 years. I knew Senator VANDENBERG as coming from a very humble home. I remember him when he entered the field of journalism in Grand Rapids, Mich., where he was most successful. I remember Senator VANDENBERG as a good neighbor, a fine friend, a great statesman. His soul is another of those who belong to the ages.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Hoffman].

Mr. HOFFMAN of Michigan. Mr. Speaker, born in Grand Rapids, Mich., growing to young manhood there, it was inevitable that the people of southwestern Michigan should have known Senator VANDENBERG very well indeed.

There was never in the State in which he lived any question as to his ability, either as an orator or as a statesman. Perhaps southwestern Michigan is now in the Republican fold because of the efforts he put forth in his earlier days.

All Michigan feels honored because he was born in and remained a resident of the State while rendering outstanding service to the Nation.

There are two instances I recall which demonstrated his unquestioned political integrity and courage. One was, I think, in 1933, when he was the only Member of the other body to vote against recognition of Soviet Russia.

The other was a few years later when a group of those who in those days nominated and sometimes elected candidates for the Presidency came to Washington. Senator VANDENBERG at that time had the opportunity to receive the Republican nomination. Before him was every prospect of being successful. At least, that then was, now is, my thought. But because he could not, would not, go along with the political philosophy of the members of that particular group, he refused to then be a candidate.

He rendered a most remarkable service to the State and to the Nation.

Because Stanley R. Banyon, publisher and editor of the News-Palladium, published at Benton Harbor, Mich., who was long associated with Senator VANDENBERG, has so ably and so accurately evaluated his service, I adopt his statement, which reads as follows:

ONE LESS TO DEFEND FREEDOM'S CAUSE

In the lamentable death of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Michigan and the Nation lose one of their truly great citizens.

Indeed, no statesman of his stature has ever occupied a Senate seat from this State. And as foreign policy spokesman for the Republican Party for the last decade and a half, Senator VANDENBERG not only wielded tremendous influence within his party, but enjoyed singular national and international prestige.

As the country knows, Senator VANDENBERG was the Republican apostle of the so-called bipartisan foreign policy. Like all leaders of national vision and influence, his position brought him both cheers and jeers. Three years ago next June it could easily have won him the Republican nomination for President at Philadelphia, for then the Nation was pretty well convinced that the route to world peace was along the highroad of bipartisan cooperation in foreign affairs.

The shadow of critical illness, however, hung over the senior Senator from Michigan. He refused to wage a vigorous campaign for the nomination. Had he been nominated the chances are good that he would have been elected and the mess we are in today might well have been avoided.

Thus are the pages of history marked with the "ifs" and imponderables of fate and destiny.

Senator VANDENBERG must have suffered many disappointing moments in the closing months of his heroic fight against the malignancy that finally won the grim battle, for his bipartisan foreign policy gradually fell apart.

For one thing, there was no one in the Senate of his ability and fervor with which to carry on the battle. Moreover, the war in Korea with all its disillusionments and fumbling by the Truman administration, soured the American people. Added to this was the disgust of millions of good Americans with the United Nations farce, both at Lake Success and in the field when the fighting started in Korea.

General MacArthur got United Nations flags for his troops but pitifully little military help from UN member nations. What the American people discovered was that the UN was nothing more than a sounding board for Russian propaganda and insults; that the UN delegates were willing to pass brave resolutions defying and denouncing Soviet Russia, but that UN governments were not going to fight.

It was, and still is, a shattering blow for all patriots like Senator VANDENBERG, who had hoped that after two World Wars the free nations might successfully hammer out a workable formula for peace on the anvil of past mistakes.

It is no secret that many Republicans could not follow Senator VANDENBERG along the tortuous road of his bipartisan foreign policy. Many of them thought that he went over to the New Dealism of Roosevelt and the fumbling of Truman and Acheson. They remembered, too, when the Senator's voice and pen rendered yeoman service in the successful Senate fight against the old League of Nations. On day he was a rabid isolationist and almost the next he was marching with the internationalists.

What the critics overlooked was that the Michigan Senator from his vantage point of service and experience in Washington, believed that unless our foreign policies were realistically American and helpful in welding together all democratic-minded peoples, another world war of even more terrible design and scope would be inevitable.

A tremendous worker, Senator VANDENBERG'S health was unquestionably impaired by his Senate service. His grave might appropriately be in Arlington in the hallowed ground reserved for the Nation's heroes.

For a quarter century, as editor of the Grand Rapids Herald, Senator VANDENBERG'S editorial pen authored dynamic support for progressive Republicanism. He was a deep student of the science of government—never a mere politician.

No leader in Michigan public life was ever a more loyal patriot. If he had lived in Washington's time he would have been another Alexander Hamilton, about whom he once wrote a book to prove his contention that Hamilton was "the greatest American."

In ideals, aspirations, in self-accomplishment and public service, ARTHUR VANDENBERG personified the typical American. Against the sordid backdrop of today's exposures of political chicanery, criminal gangsterism, and Red termites in high places of our National Government, Senator VANDENBERG'S nobility of character and integrity of citizenship and public service are as inspiring as the first rays of the morning sun.

The country loses a valiant warrior and defender in this statesman's passing.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Meader].

Mr. MEADER. Mr. Speaker, it was with great shock that I learned last evening of Senator VANDENBERG'S passing; not a shock in the sense that we had not been well aware of his illness and the great fight he was putting up against a dread disease, but a shock because, for the first time, I realized that the Republican Party and the Congress were going to face now the replacement of Senator VANDENBERG, his counsel and his influence upon the policies of this country, particularly in its relationship with other nations of the world.

I did not know Senator VANDENBERG intimately. I had known him over a long period of time when, as a practicing lawyer, occasionally I would call on him in Washington. I knew him during my service as counsel for Senate committees when, from time to time, I had occasion to talk with him.

I remember in the early days his fight against the Florida ship canal as one of the outstanding activities in which he

engaged in the Senate. In later years he had come to wield a very great power, not only in the Republican Party, but in the entire Senate, on foreign affairs.

I visited him briefly in Paris during the Conference of Foreign Ministers, which ended in a stalemate, and discussed with him some of the experiences that he was going through. As you all recall, there then was a definite stiffening in the attitude of the American Government toward the demands of the Russians. In that stiffening of resistance to Russian encroachments Senator VANDENBERG played a very great part.

I think that among all of the attributes of this great American citizen perhaps the one which stands forth in the minds of all of us is the outstanding manner in which he placed his country's interest above his personal interest or the interest of his party. I think that example may well stand in good stead when, in the heat of partisan controversy in this body or in the other body, we recall the attributes of Senator VANDENBERG which led to his being regarded by the people of this country as one of its outstanding statesmen. His example and his spirit will remain with us.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Michigan [Mr. Crawford].

Mr. CRAWFORD. Mr. Speaker, disease and hazards to which mankind is subjected have little respect for youth, for the middle-aged, or for those who have obtained great experience in this game we call life. I wish to use this opportunity to express my deep sympathy, as well as that of the great people of my district, the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan, for the loss which our State and our country has suffered by reason of the death of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG. His life has been taken away from us after he had received great experience in the affairs of this country and this world at a time when he could have been of great service had he been permitted, by the great

forces of the universe, to have lived another decade or two. I have often thought of Senator VANDENBERG as one who would have rendered great service to the country and to the world had he been permitted to serve in the embassies which represent the United States across the face of the earth. He was a man of great stature, physically and mentally and intellectually, and by reason of the issues which have been drawn in this country, I think that his representation in some foreign embassy would perhaps have rendered as great a service as man has ever been permitted to render, particularly at this great hour of need. The country will have a job to find a man who will measure up to his stature, whether representing the great State of Michigan or some other State. He has made his own record. There is nothing I can add to it except to say that my district deeply sympathizes with his family and with his loved ones and with his friends, thousands of whom reside in the Eighth Congressional District of Michigan.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Short].

Mr. SHORT. Mr. Speaker, ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG. There is tremendous power in that very name: Dutch stubbornness, solidity, substantiality. He was a giant among intellects, whose honor was untarnished, whose integrity was unquestioned, and whose ability was often demonstrated, so much so that both friend and foe would quickly admit that he was not only of presidential stature but one of the outstanding statesmen not only of our day, but in the history of our country.

Mr. Speaker, in 1944 ARTHUR VANDENBERG said to me on the floor of the Senate just prior to our National Republican Convention, "Dewey, in my opinion, Gen. Douglas MacArthur is the most brilliant man I have ever known." He was of that same opinion in 1948. There were two great heroes that Senator VANDENBERG almost worshipped. One

was Borah. I want to ask Members this afternoon before they leave their offices to read the incomparable tribute paid by Senator VANDENBERG to Senator Borah on the occasion of the death of the dean of the Senate; the greatest encomium I think I have ever read by one man paid to another.

VANDENBERG was a master of the tongue of Shakespeare. All of his speeches, though they apparently were extemporaneous, were very carefully prepared. He learned it as a newspaperman. I happen to know that he wrote and rewrote his speeches and often he would rewrite a paragraph a dozen times, and was never quite satisfied with it when it was—I started to say finished; I will say ended, because it was never finished.

Borah was one of his great idols. The other was Gen. Douglas MacArthur. Much as I have admired the general in days gone by, after the experience of today I know why ARTHUR VANDENBERG revered and admired him and all but worshipped him.

We heard MacArthur's speech here today. We saw a great hunk of God in the flesh, and we heard the voice of God.

Speeches are not made, they are born. When Mr. Webster over in the old Supreme Court Chamber that was the Senate Chamber at that time made his immortal reply to Hayne, a Washington lady shook his hand as he left the Chamber and said, "Oh, Senator Webster, I am surprised that you could prepare a speech such as you gave today after hearing Hayne only yesterday." Daniel Webster said, "Oh, my dear lady, I have spent 40 years preparing this speech."

MacArthur, I think, has spent 52 years in giving us the climax today of a long and a distinguished career.

Oh, Mr. Speaker, I would that ARTHUR VANDENBERG with his melodious voice, of rich resonance, of impressive intonation, born of the deep convictions of his soul, could have been here this noon. It is rather singular, is it not, a rather queer coincidence that the senior Senator from Michigan shuffled

off his mortal coil only last night before the greatest idol of his life addressed us today. I thought of it all the time he was speaking.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a man who perhaps could have been President had he not been too honest. One night after he and I had attended a meeting, and he was kind enough to drop me by my apartment on the way to his hotel, I said, "Senator, a lot of people don't understand you. They think you are a stuffed shirt." Even I accused him of being capable of drinking boiling water and sweating icicles. And he laughed. He had a sense of humor. But ARTHUR VANDENBERG possessed a warm heart. He was congenial, he was convivial, and after you knew him, if anyone ever thought he had an icy exterior, if they penetrated that and came to know him they would find one of the warmest and most congenial and compatible persons he had ever met. It is those personal qualities as well as his great intellect and his contribution to American statecraft, that I think of this afternoon. There is little tribute I or anyone else can pay him which would do justice to him. Today I like to put him in the class of his two great idols—I put them together—Borah, MacArthur, Vandenberg.

Mr. Speaker, I shall not trespass longer upon your time. I will simply pronounce their names and let them shine on in deathless splendor. "Life is real, life is earnest, and the grave is not its goal. Dust thou art and to dust returnest, was not spoken of the soul." God bless America where men from humble origins can rise to such heights of success and glory. May God in his infinite mercy bless not only the loved ones of his family, but may He look down upon the United States of America, this beloved Republic, and in the days to come it is my earnest and hopeful prayer that we shall have more Borahs, and more MacArthurs, and more Vandenbergs—all good soldiers, whether in the public arena or on the battlefield. Old soldiers never die, though they may silently fade away.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Wisconsin [Mr. Kersten].

Mr. KERSTEN of Wisconsin. Mr. Speaker, the waters of ablution of Lake Michigan touch the shores of the State of Wisconsin and the State of Michigan and they join their boundaries, too. Wisconsin wishes to lay a wreath upon the tomb of a great world statesman, ARTHUR VANDENBERG. Today we see about our horizon the threatening clouds of war, but we know that behind those clouds ultimately there is a time when there finally will be established the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God, and when that time comes the spirit of VANDENBERG will be there because he envisioned that time and helped prepare for it. He was one of the great statesmen of the world, and I wish to pay tribute to him.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd].

Mr. JUDD. Mr. Speaker, when a boy in school reads his history lessons and sometimes memorizes portions of the addresses which great debaters and political leaders of our country have given in the past, he comes to have a sort of hero worship for the Jeffersons, the Madisons, the Websters, Calhouns, and Clays, and the many other great congressional leaders in our history. I had never dreamed of getting into political life myself, but when I came to the Congress 8 years ago, I looked forward eagerly to meeting men who would be all the time like those men were in their finest moments. Frankly, I was disappointed at first because I did not find many of the sort of person I had imagined as a boy. I found many who, most of the time, were ordinary people like those in other walks of life. Their moments of great or spectacular effort were intermingled with or seemed overshadowed by so many other moments of ordinary, inconspicuous, plodding effort—the sort of thing of which even I was capable. Only as I come to know my colleagues better, did I realize

that probably no one lives at a peak all the time. A man is great who makes even a few truly notable contributions in a lifetime. And with that view I came to have a truer appreciation of the genuine greatness of so many of the Members of Congress of our day.

I say all this as background for the statement that of all the men it has been my privilege to know since becoming a Member of the Congress, the man who came nearest to measuring up to the standard of greatness which was in my mind as a boy, the man who came nearest to what I had pictured as a statesman, the equal to the giants who built this Republic and have preserved it—that man was ARTHUR VANDENBERG.

There were many reasons for such an estimate; his impressive appearance, his lucidity of thought and speech, his ability to influence the minds of others. He had great capacity and wisdom and patriotism and courage. But perhaps the outstanding mark of his statesmanship was this: When he saw that a position he had been a leader in maintaining was no longer tenable in the kind of shrinking world in which we live, he had the greatness to reverse his stand and become the leader of the opposite position from that which he had supported and advocated for so long. That is true greatness; the capacity to grasp and to grow; and the courage to give up mere consistency in order to do the thing that he now believed was in the best interest of his country.

Perhaps it is proper for me to repeat this personal word of appreciation. Many times in the six or more years I was privileged to know and consult with him, when I was struggling almost alone at times in favor of policies and actions which I believed were necessary if we were not to get into the perilous situation in Asia, which we have heard portrayed here today by General MacArthur, I received encouragement from Senator VANDENBERG. Perhaps his sympathy with my views came from his long association with General MacArthur, to which the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Short] so eloquently referred. In any case he helped me keep plugging away at the job.

The last time I went to him for help on a major matter was in July 1948. The Congress had passed on April 3, 1948, the foreign-aid bill containing a title called the China Aid Act. It was designed to prevent exactly the dangerous predicament in which we find our country today, by helping the Chinese Government put down the Communist rebellion which had not yet been able to conquer even Manchuria. For 3 months somebody in the State Department had refused to move to set in motion the provisions of the bill which it was their business to carry out in good faith because it was the law of the land, whether they liked it or not. Military-type aid had been authorized and the money appropriated to help those who were already fighting this great Communist cancer so that American boys would not have to give up their lives in Korea or elsewhere fighting it later. Time was of decisive importance, and we could not budge the road block. I finally went to Senator VANDENBERG. He was to leave that afternoon, the session having ended, to go back to Michigan, and he was busy. I said, "How in the world can we break this thing loose so that the aid will start going? The Chinese cannot hope to win if they have to wait for supplies months longer in the midst of the battle." He said, "Well, I have an idea. The keyman in the agency responsible—I shall not mention his name—has gone to the hospital for a check-up. I think we can get hold of a certain other man down there who might get this program started while his boss is in the hospital." So he called up the individual in my presence and talked to him, and the road block was broken, and after 3½ months of delay the will of the Congress began to be carried out.

That was the last contact on a major matter which I had with the distinguished gentleman—brilliant, patriotic, courageous, tactful, persuasive—who served the State of Michigan and all America so effectively in the Senate of the United States. He was a blessing to me, just one of the many, many humble persons to whom he gave considerate attention as he walked the road of life, and I am sure he has been a

blessing to all who have been privileged to know him well. We can only wish comfort for the hearts of those loved ones who are left, in their knowledge of the great service he rendered to our country and to mankind.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from California [Mr. Johnson].

Mr. JOHNSON. Mr. Speaker, of all the men I have met since I came to Congress, almost 10 years ago, Senator VANDENBERG was the most inspiring person. I first met him at a national convention in 1936. At that time he did not impress me. I went away with the impression, as my colleague the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. Short] stated, that he was a "stuffed shirt." But after I came to Congress a group of Congressmen, of which the gentleman from Minnesota [Mr. Judd] was one and of which I was one, had him talk to us off the record, about a solution of our postwar problems.

I was very much impressed with what he had to say. He pointed out that in the chaotic, uncertain, shattered, and explosive world in which we lived that some way must be found to settle international disputes by peaceful means. He himself had changed his own position and had turned from the restrictive position of isolationism to the broader one that nations like persons could not successfully live in a state of anarchy.

Furthermore, Senator VANDENBERG dropped much of his partisanship and took a more objective view of the stupendous problems facing the world. He recognized that the United States was the leader in the family of nations and unless our position was one of broad tolerance and of a determination to unify the world in the interest of peace, there was little chance for a peaceful world.

He expounded the thesis of collective security and peace with justice. His leadership had a profound influence on myself and I think many other Members of the House and undoubtedly also on Members of the other body.

His record is a good illustration of the statement that partisanship and statesmanship do not mesh very often. As his partisanship became less pronounced his statesmanship became more evident. If the free and peaceful world which we are all hoping for comes, it can then be truly said that Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG helped build the foundation for that world. On these broad and fundamental problems he undoubtedly had a grasp that was unexcelled. His influence will be felt by millions of persons who may get the freedom that they never had before.

It was his attitude on these matters that leads me to say that of all the men I have known in Congress, he was the most statesmanlike and also inspired me most.

His loss will be tremendous but all of us can make his work more successful by doing our part in trying to carry out his ideas.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from North Carolina [Mr. Deane].

Mr. DEANE. Mr. Speaker, when I think of the distinguished and beloved Senator from Michigan, ARTHUR VANDENBERG, I think of the United Nations. During these days it is difficult when we think of our parties to be absolutely fair, unbiased, and sincere; we are so prone to put partisanship ahead of the welfare of our country. But I feel that no person in America made a greater contribution and exemplified a greater sincerity than did Senator VANDENBERG. The people of both of our great parties respected this great statesman from Michigan.

Mr. Speaker and Members of the House, I feel that much of the success of the United Nations is due to the leadership of Senator VANDENBERG, and I have a feeling, too, that if he were living and in his full vigor and strength that he would yet urge greater and more sincere cooperation on the part of our Congress with this great organization.

Senator VANDENBERG exemplified in my opinion the ideology of "Not who is right, but what is right" when it came to a matter of a decision involving the peace of the world.

We can only hope and pray that his vision of a great group of nations acting together in a common undertaking will yet prevail. To his memory I pay this very sincere salute.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I yield to the gentleman from Ohio [Mr. Jenkins].

Mr. JENKINS. Mr. Speaker, it was my good fortune to know Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG well and intimately for a long time. As some of you know, I have had a somewhat extended experience here as a Member of this House. Because of that I have had occasion to know a great many men who have served in the House or in the Senate. I presume, like all the rest of you, I would mentally appraise them as I met them and had association with them. I have appraised Senator VANDENBERG for a long time. There are other men that I have met and known as Members of the House or Senate who probably could match him in oratory and in debate, but nobody that I have known here in Congress in either House was superior to Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG in putting on paper what he thought, what he believed, and what he wanted to say. His ability in this respect was to my mind responsible for the high standing that he achieved among the statesmen of his generation. To his family I extend my sympathy and I say to his children that they no doubt found many characteristics of mind and heart that will cause them to forever revere and respect their brilliant father.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may extend their remarks at this point on this resolution.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

Mr. HALLECK. Mr. Speaker, the Nation has lost one of its most distinguished sons in the death of Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG, of Michigan.

It was my privilege to work with Senator VANDENBERG for many years, and particularly at the time that I served as House majority leader in the Eightieth Congress and he was chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. It is on the basis of this pleasant association with the Senator that I place my high evaluation on his record of service to America.

When history places its final assessment on his contribution to the country during his long and illustrious career in the Senate of the United States I am confident that the sentiments expressed here now by his colleagues of both Houses shall not have proved without foundation.

If by his works they shall know him, then future generations of Americans will know that the Senator from Michigan was a man of great intellectual and moral stature; a man conscious of his responsibilities, determined to fulfill his obligations of office and devoted to the land he served so well.

In his great capacity for hard work, it may well be that he hastened his untimely death by his very insistence that whatever it was humanly possible for him to do should not be left undone.

It is tragic for the welfare of our people that Senator VANDENBERG should have been stricken at a time when the fulfillment of his tremendous capacities appeared to be at hand. That we in the Congress should find ourselves now bereft of his wise leadership, his friendly counsel, and his broad experience in the field of foreign relations is a disheartening fact to contemplate.

His was a commanding voice, a voice which gave eloquent expression to convictions deeply held, convictions arising from profound thought, careful study, and a sincere desire to place country above all.

In these unhappy times all of us shall miss the steadying influence of a colleague held in deepest respect. The tasks we face will be less easy without the helpful voice and hand we knew so well.

Words are poor things at best in time of sorrow and bereavement, but through them, and through his deeds, Americans of a future day will learn that the Senator from Michigan was a man loved and venerated by his compatriots; that he was held in justifiable esteem for his unselfish service to a noble cause.

I add my tribute to the late Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG, of Michigan, of whom no greater thing may be said than that he lived a rich and useful life, a life dedicated to the welfare of his countrymen.

Mr. WIGGLESWORTH. Mr. Speaker, the death of ARTHUR VANDENBERG, senior Senator from the State of Michigan, is a very great loss to his State and to the Nation as a whole.

Successful as an editor, successful as an author, he was to attain outstanding success as a Member of the United States Senate in extremely difficult times.

Elected to the Senate in 1928, he became recognized throughout the Nation as one of its outstanding Members and as a leader in the field of foreign affairs, serving as chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee of the Senate during the Eightieth Congress, and playing a vital role in the molding of important legislation dealing with relations between this country and other nations in the free world.

In these critical days in the history of the world the country can ill afford to lose his great ability and fine capacity for leadership.

I have known him over the years, ever since he came to Washington, as a personal friend. I shall miss him.

I join in heartfelt sympathy to the members of his family and to all those close to him.

Mr. SHAFER. Mr. Speaker, with my fellow citizens of Michigan and of the Nation, and with my colleagues in Congress, I mourn the passing of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

My personal acquaintance and association with Senator VANDENBERG began long before either of us came to Congress. He was the city editor of a Grand Rapids newspaper when I held my first job as a reporter with the paper.

In later years it was my pleasure, on numerous occasions, to have him speak in my district. In those addresses, with the graciousness so characteristic of him, he would invariably refer to me as his "protege."

Senator VANDENBERG was faithful to his duties as a United States Senator even to the detriment of his health. From his sense of public obligation he remained at his post against the counsel of his physician, undoubtedly aggravating the condition which has led to his long illness and finally his death.

ARTHUR VANDENBERG will always be remembered, by the Nation and the world, for his advocacy of national unity in the cause of world peace. The impulse which prompted his sponsorship of the bipartisan foreign policy—which he preferred to call nonpartisan—was deeply patriotic. Unfortunately, as he lived to learn, it takes two to make a bipartisan foreign policy. Unfortunately, too, the bipartisan policy he espoused was not extended to those crucial international conferences, particularly at Yalta and Potsdam, which did so much to create our present critical dilemma.

The Nation still needed ARTHUR VANDENBERG. Even more it still needs the sort of unity, in support of sound principles of enlightened self-interest, which ARTHUR VANDENBERG envisioned and which he strove so valiantly to achieve.

Mr. WOLCOTT. Mr. Speaker, I ask unanimous consent that all Members may have five legislative days within which to revise and extend their remarks in respect to the resolution just offered.

The SPEAKER. Is there objection to the request of the gentleman from Michigan?

There was no objection.

The SPEAKER. The Chair appoints as members of the committee on the part of the House to attend the funeral the following Members: Messrs. Woodruff, Wolcott, Dingell, Dondero, Crawford, Hoffman of Michigan, Shafer, Blackney, Bennett of Michigan, Potter, Rabaut, O'Brien of Michigan, Ford, Lesinski, Machrowicz, Meader, and Miss Thompson of Michigan.

The SPEAKER. The Clerk will report the balance of the resolution.

The Clerk read as follows:

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased the House do now adjourn.

The resolution was agreed to.

Accordingly (at 3 o'clock and 1 minute p. m.) the House adjourned, under its previous order, until Monday, April 23, 1951, at 12 o'clock noon.

MONDAY, *April 23, 1951.*

A message from the Senate, by Mr. Carrell, one of its clerks, announced that the Senate had adopted the following resolution (S. Res. 130):

Resolved, That the Senate has heard with profound sorrow and deep regret the announcement of the death of Hon. ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, late a Senator from the State of Michigan and a former President pro tempore of the Senate.

Resolved, That a committee be appointed by the President of the Senate to attend the funeral of the deceased Senator.

Resolved, That the Secretary communicate these resolutions to the House of Representatives and transmit a copy thereof to the family of the deceased.

Resolved, That as a further mark of respect to the memory of the deceased, the Senate take a recess until 12 o'clock meridian on Monday next.

Tributes

Tributes

Remarks by Senator Benton

Of Connecticut

Mr. BENTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record Mrs. Anne O'Hare McCormick's column, "Arrival and Departure at a Historic Crossroads," which appeared in the New York Times on April 21, 1951. I remind the Senate that last Saturday was the day of the late Senator VANDENBERG's funeral. I read the Times editorial page on the plane on the way to Grand Rapids as a member of the official United States Senate delegation to the funeral. Against the background of his great leadership, this editorial and this important column by Mrs. McCormick seem to be extraordinarily apt.

Mr. President, I submit that the Congress must join with the administration in giving much more attention to the imponderables of foreign policy which, when disregarded, as the Times points out, have often led even the strongest military nations to disaster. We must now build firmly on that structure of policy Senator VANDENBERG helped to build. I well remember, Mr. President, his guidance to me during my days as Assistant Secretary of State, when again and again I would slip into his office for advice. He never failed to live up in private to the great reputation for candor and courage which he had achieved publicly throughout the world.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the New York Times of April 21, 1951]

ABROAD

(By Anne O'Hare McCormick)

ARRIVAL AND DEPARTURE AT A HISTORIC CROSSROADS

Among the saddest aspects of the stirring drama of the past few days is that the homecoming of General MacArthur overshadowed the passing of Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG. By custom the Senate adjourns when a Member dies, but on Thursday it had to meet with the House of Representatives to listen and pay honor to the eye-filling and ear-filling hero of the Pacific. Following the joint meeting, his colleagues paid brief tribute to a hero in another field, but their words were all but lost in the reverberating echoes of the oration they had just heard. Hence, even in his death the great Senator from Michigan, leader and victor in one of the most crucial political battles ever fought in the United States, was deprived by a strange coincidence of the full homage he deserved from his country and the world. In the tumult and the shouting acclaiming the warrior's return the departure of the statesman seemed a muted and lonely ending. It was the statesman who faded away and the old soldier who strode into the limelight and assumed a new role.

In a way, however, the simultaneous coming and going of MacArthur and VANDENBERG fitted into the historic drama in which both played decisive parts. MacArthur's is not played out; he has captured the center of the stage by sheer power of personality and histrionic art. Instead of diminishing the legend, the real figure enhances it.

NO APPEAL FOR UNITY

The first speaker before the assembly who could be both seen and heard by a national audience, the general did not use that grandstand to make the irresistible appeal for unity that some of us hoped for. He did not carry on where Senator VANDENBERG left off. Although he declared that the issues were "beyond the realm of partisan consideration," and although his speech cut across the ideas of hemispheric defense isolationists on the Republican side as well as the political realities on which the administration bases its course, it is bound to deepen and sharpen division not only on military versus political strategy, but on strictly party lines.

Senator VANDENBERG's aim was to unite the country behind a nonpartisan foreign policy. He was so manifestly the prime mover in gaining support for the measures like the Truman doctrine, the European recovery program, the Atlantic Pact, and the Pan-American treaty that some of the President's advisers, including General Marshall, suggested at one time that he be named Secretary of State in recognition of his invaluable services as chief architect of an all-American foreign policy.

No doubt General MacArthur also passionately desires an all-American policy, but on his own terms, which he believes basic to our security. Senator VANDENBERG was so convinced that unity was the paramount consideration that he was willing to compromise on methods and details in order to achieve it. More important, he was able to convince the majority in his party that a united front at home with the prime essential of American influence abroad. The confusion and schisms in the Republican ranks since he became inactive give the measure of his leadership—and the void his passing leaves in the councils of the Senate. His loss at this juncture is as tragic as the break with the supreme commander in the Pacific.

NO APPEAL FOR UNITY

Yet the structure of policy VANDENBERG helped to build remains; it will not fall. He is said to have left a letter which will undoubtedly be a last plea for a closing of the ranks in the face of growing danger. Nor is it by any means certain that the great, if unfinished, work he accomplished will not be furthered rather than halted by MacArthur. Just by stressing the global nature of the war and the necessity of creating strength enough to fight it on both fronts, the general must shock many of his followers—those who clamor for priority for the Asian front, or those who favor a war so much more limited than the Administration that they don't want us to fight anywhere but at home.

The President must be a little shocked, too, to hear the deposed commander come out strongly for Mr. Truman's pet project. One of the most impressive passages in an impressive speech was the insistence of the revolutionary character of the changes in the Orient. In an adroit thrust at his critics in Europe, MacArthur emphasized that "the peoples of Asia found their opportunity in the war just past to throw off the shackles of colonialism and now see the dawn of new opportunity, and heretofore unfelt dignity, and the self-respect of political freedom." The things they strive for he said—food, clothing, shelter, "the realization of the nationalist urge for political freedom * * * form a backdrop to contempo-

rary planning which must be thoughtfully considered if we are to avoid the pitfalls of unrealism."

What is this but support for point 4? General MacArthur drew cheers for his advocacy of economic help for Asia, more cheers than the President's program had yet evoked from Congress. But the new crusader for point 4 must be a bit embarrassing for its sponsor just the same. Many commentators have pointed out that MacArthur's entry into the great debate actually narrows and simplifies the issues. At least it reveals that they are not fixed or static. The coming and going of two great figures, at the same time reminds us that both are characters in a moving drama in which events are constantly catching up with and modifying the opinions of men and the policies of governments.

Mr. BENTON. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the Appendix of the Record an excellent editorial from the May 5 issue of America, national Catholic weekly review. I congratulate the editor for his penetrating insight in his editorial entitled "Senator Vandenberg's Greatness," into Senator VANDENBERG's crucial role in the development of our foreign policy from January of 1945 onward.

There being no objection, the editorial was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

SENATOR VANDENBERG'S GREATNESS

Tributes to Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Republican, of Michigan, who passed away in his sleep on April 18, were spread over 16 pages of the Congressional Record. They attest to a bipartisan conviction that a truly great statesman had passed from the United States Senate.

Senator VANDENBERG's claim to greatness rests upon a long succession of truly notable contributions packed into five critical years, from 1945 to 1950. If ever we win through to an enduring peace, we shall owe our good fortune in no small measure to the unremitting and laborious statesmanship he lavished on its foundations.

That labor began with his celebrated Senate address of January 10, 1945. Convinced that "world war III would open new laboratories of death too horrible to contemplate," he courageously renounced what he had called his insulationism. He called for maximum American cooperation to make the basic idea of Dum-

barton Oaks [the proposed world-security organization] succeed. President Roosevelt promptly appointed him to the United States delegation to the San Francisco Conference on the UN Charter. On October 4, 1948, the Senator ascribed to Republican initiative what had been in reality his own personal accomplishments in 1945:

"The word 'justice' never once appeared in the main body of the original draft. The idea of justice as the only basis of lasting peace was written into the Charter—and repeatedly—on Republican initiative."

But this was not all:

"So was article 14, without which the Charter would freeze a static world without hope of overtaking the mistakes of yesterday. So was article 51, which makes possible effective 'regional arrangements' which are of such vital current importance."

The Senator early developed, and later sold to Secretary of State Byrnes, his "get tough with Russia" attitude. He told one of our editors that at San Francisco, where he engaged in an 8-day duel with Molotov over article 14: "I pounded the table as hard as Molotov did, and he seemed to respect me for it."

As soon as it became clearly evident that the UN could not attain its collective-security purposes, the Senator devised his famous VANDENBERG resolution of June 11, 1948. When approved by the Senate by a decisive vote of 64–4, it paved the way for the Atlantic pact, which was signed just a year later.

Another contribution he made, again in line with his principle of regional arrangements as supplementary to the UN, was his support of the Rio Pact for Hemispheric Defense in 1947. Sumner Welles has credited him with saving the inter-American system.

The bipartisan foreign program which has succeeded best—the Marshall plan—owes a great deal to Senator VANDENBERG. In the spring of 1948 the strongest opposition came from those who would not accept the administration's proposal that it be administered by the Secretary of State, a political official whose economic wisdom Congress doubted. VANDENBERG had the Brookings Institution devise the plan which Paul Hoffman, an exceptionally able businessman of free enterprise convictions, has administered with almost sensational success.

ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG'S patriotism, indeed, was heroic. He deferred too long, out of zeal for his country's welfare, submitting to surgery. Grieved as we are at the loss of this spirit who soared high above partisan considerations, we thank God for his greatness and pray for the repose of his great soul.

Remarks by Senator Margaret Chase Smith

Of Maine

Mrs. SMITH of Maine. Mr. President, Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG was a great man. He showed his greatness in many ways. It is said that one trait of greatness is the ability to change one's opinions and views and to admit such changes. If that is a trait of greatness, then surely it was a mark of statesmanship on the part of ARTHUR VANDENBERG, for he shed his deep isolationism to become the foremost architect of our bipartisan foreign policy.

I ask unanimous consent to have inserted in the Record an article I recently wrote about Senator VANDENBERG.

There being no objection, the article was ordered to be printed in the Record, as follows:

[From the Washington Star of April 25, 1951]

WASHINGTON AND YOU

(By United States Senator MARGARET CHASE SMITH)

WASHINGTON, D. C.—I shall always remember Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG. He was an outstanding statesman, a colleague, and a Republican whose views on foreign policy, I shared. But, more, I shall remember him because he was a good friend in whom I could place full confidence in judgment and in telling me the truth.

I vividly recall the day I was sworn into the Senate. Senator VANDENBERG as the retiring President pro tempore of the Senate swore me in. His very first act after he relinquished the post to Senator McKellar, the Democrats having taken over control of the Eighty-first Congress, was to walk directly to my seat in the Senate Chamber and offer his personal congratulations to me and welcome me into the "club."

Another occasion stands out in my mind. The Senate was voting on the military assistance program to Europe, a measure designed to send materials, equipment, and technical assistance to the member nations of the North Atlantic Pact. The legislation was to implement the North Atlantic Treaty and to start building real forces-in-being to back up the mutual defense provisions of the pact.

I had some reservations about the bill because the Members of the Senate who were not on the Foreign Relations Committee or the Armed Services Committee had not been fully informed on the world conditions that prompted the legislation. I went to Senator VANDENBERG and told him of my reaction. In response he gave me a full briefing on the facts that had not been revealed outside the two committees. His briefing left no question in my mind as to the necessity for the legislation. I remarked that it was a shame that the Senate legislated so much in secrecy. He agreed.

Those of us who sat beside and talked with Senator VANDENBERG during his last few months in Washington knew of the pain that he was enduring. We knew not because of what he said, because he never complained, but rather because of what we could read in his face and the way in which he walked to his seat. He could not conceal the strain.

He was silently carrying not only his own physical pain but the sadness of seeing his wife pass away last June. But his grief over his wife and his pain did not deter him. He saw the North Atlantic Treaty ratified and the military assistance program passed before he gave in to the doctors. He carried a tumor in his left lung for over a year before submitting to surgery. He just didn't have time to take care of himself. He couldn't take out time from his consecrated service to his country, to his people, and to the peace of the world.

We have often heard national leaders called war casualties in as full a sense of the word as soldiers who died on the battlefield.

Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG was a casualty of peace—not war—as he literally gave his life to his country on the floor of the United States Senate. To those who condemned him, fuzzy-minded internationalist, I suggest that they now pause and ask themselves if they have done as much for their country and for peace as ARTHUR VANDENBERG and if they are willing to give their lives as he did.

Remarks by Representative Ford

Of Michigan

Mr. FORD. Mr. Speaker, on Saturday, April 21, 1951, burial services for Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG were held in his home town, Grand Rapids, Mich. His loss will be keenly felt. For posterity I deem it appropriate to include in my remarks editorials from the Grand Rapids Herald, the Grand Rapids Press, the Grand Haven Daily Tribune, and the Holland Evening Sentinel:

[From the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Herald]

AS THE NATION MOURNS

East and West, North and South, the people's high regard for ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, United States Senator and world statesman, and their sorrow at his passing are reflected in the editorial columns of their newspapers.

He belonged to the Nation and to the world no less than to Grand Rapids and to Michigan.

A few typical expressions follow.

The New York Herald Tribune: "It is only once or twice in a generation that a single speech changes the course of history * * * but the speech Senator VANDENBERG delivered in the Senate January 10, 1945, stands apart from all others, a turning point in his own career and a milestone of major significance for the Nation. * * * The memory of the man remains luminous in the minds of the generation that saw his works accomplished."

The New York Times: "Perhaps more than any other political figure of his time he typified America's capacity for change and growth, and symbolized our political conversion from a policy of isolation to world responsibility. * * * If America's adherence to the United Nations, its decision to oppose the expansion of Communist aggression, and its formulation of the Marshall Plan and the North Atlantic Treaty are among the great events of our epoch, as unquestionably they are, then Senator VANDENBERG must retain a central place in contemporary history. * * * The memory of his achievements is not likely to pass away for many years to come."

The New York World-Telegram and Sun: "He became the chief architect of the bipartisan foreign policy. * * * It is his country's great misfortune—but it was no fault of Senator VANDENBERG's—that the policy has been limited in application. He protested vainly against the 'tragic failure' of the Truman administration to stand as firmly in Asia as in Europe against Communist domination and aggression. * * * His death is a tragic loss to the country he loved and served wonderfully well."

The Washington Evening Star: "The tyrants of our time have reason to remember him with bitterness and hate. But the rest of us must remember him with an abiding sense of gratitude—a gratitude that must be felt by all who cherish the true meaning of liberty, justice, truth, and simple, ordinary decency. * * * If he could leave one admonition with us, it would be not to forget that we are in greater danger of destroying ourselves than of being destroyed from abroad."

The Washington Post: "In his day, he was a Titan in the Senate, and will live in its history along with Clay, Calhoun and Webster. We mourn him as a man who, above all others, has been responsible for the evolution of a sustained international policy in our country. The measure of ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG is the vacuum he leaves on the Republican side of the Senate. VANDENBERG squared party and country with his belief that politics during the present crisis should stop at the water's edge."

The Boston Traveler: "There exists in his party no ready replacement for his job of peacemaker on essentials. For his selfless leadership in a critical policy area we owe him a great debt of gratitude."

The Boston Globe: "His career was of enormous assistance to the efforts of many Americans of both parties to make the world more secure against the threat of war. It is to be hoped that other Republicans of prominence will come forward to assume leadership comparable to that of the statesman from Michigan."

The Chicago Sun-Times: "Senator VANDENBERG did more than any other Republican to change the course of American foreign policy after World War II. The former isolationist's formal conversion to the cause of international collective security was as historic as it was dramatic. * * * We shall miss his counsel all the more as we come to realize the tremendous debt we owe him."

The Chicago Daily News: "If the United Nations survives the strains of power grabbing that proved too much for its predecessor, the League of Nations, the late Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG of Michigan will occupy a large place in the historical evaluation of these times."

The Atlanta Constitution: "While the Nation was paying tribute to a great military man, it was mourning the loss of another

patriot of heroic stature—ARTHUR VANDENBERG, of Michigan, editor and statesman, whose powerful voice was the deciding factor in many history-making policy battles on the Senate floor. * * * His objectives rose high above partisanship toward the kind of unified foreign policy which would enable us to stamp on the Communist aggressor anywhere he raised his ugly head."

The Atlanta Journal: "It was the last and relatively brief phase of his long career that marked the difference between a man of talent and one of creative vision. * * * On that high note ended the active career of a man whose mind and spirit were great enough to put truth above consistency, conscience above pride of opinion and country above party."

The Kansas City Star: "The refusal of Senator VANDENBERG to submit to a necessary operation until he had seen two important measures through the Senate was characteristic of the man in his late great years. * * * His hold on general public confidence became so great he was able to keep his party in line and in the first critical years after the war he gave invaluable service to the Nation."

The Detroit News: "The loss to the Nation, more and more evident as his last illness settled upon him, is complete. * * * A capacity for growth was the distinguishing mark of the VANDENBERG nature. * * * By a magnificent projection of moral force he swept his party out of isolationism into the new current of world thought and cooperative action for peace. * * * It has been remarked how often in the current great debate one unanswerable sentence from VANDENBERG in his prime might have returned it swiftly to its proper course. * * * That VANDENBERG was Presidential timber goes without saying, and that he never turned a hand to capitalize on that status is equally a matter of record. Thus his integrity as a free man was uncompromised to the end."

The Detroit Free Press: "The voice of Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG is stilled by death. The personal tragedy is that Senator VANDENBERG died before the battle for bipartisanship which he led could be won. The national tragedy is that the structure of American unity in face of world perils which he devoted his life to build lies in ruins. * * * There was no other leader in either party able or willing to bridge the chasm opened by partisan approach to our foreign relations. There's none today. * * * Cannot we take from the life of ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG a new dedication to carry on the work he began and bring to fruition the bipartisan approach to the world about us for which he pleaded? We are certain that he would have asked for no greater monument."

The Jackson Citizen Patriot: "ARTHUR VANDENBURG belonged not alone to Michigan or the Republican Party. He was a great American—perhaps the greatest of this day. In a time when small men grub for graft, when dishonesty, incompetence and greed are common attributes of public life, his integrity was never questioned, his wisdom was respected and his selfless patriotism was recognized. * * * His eyes were ever on the horizon which was his goal; the horizon of men's dreams and ideals and faiths."

The Flint Journal: "His going has left no bitterness, no recriminations, no enmity, but only a sense of irreparable loss. * * * His passing brings sadness, but there remains the memory of a completely honest, selfless, devoted statesman—an example for future leaders to emulate."

The Saginaw News: "ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG's footprints on the sands of time will not soon be obliterated. * * * Another son of Michigan will in due course be appointed to sit in Senator VANDENBERG's chair in the Senate Chamber, but it will be a difficult assignment for he will have ever before him the example of a career of national service which knows few parallels."

The Lansing State Journal: "Michigan's distinguished senior Senator was a statesman in the best sense of the word. * * * For the sake of this country and the causes to which he was devoted, it is to be fervently hoped that his great influence for integrity in Government, for unselfish public service, and for peace and justice will continue to be felt through the years to come. He has taken his place among the immortal great of the Nation's illustrious statesmen."

The Battle Creek Enquirer and News: "He never sought universal popularity as the required basis for his championship of causes. He fought that national preservation and human safety were more important than partisan rivalry. * * * In his younger days he had written a book, 'If Hamilton Were Here Today.' There will be many a speculation in the future—and anxiety will seek comfort thereby—as to how the responsibilities of future issues would be met if VANDENBERG were here today."

[From the Grand Rapids (Mich.) Press]

ARCHITECT OF FREEDOM

The death of ARTHUR HENDRIK VANDENBERG will be mourned wherever free men live and continue to fight for freedom. For no American of the last decade fought that fight more vigorously or contributed more importantly to its victories than Senator VANDENBERG. Above all others, he was responsible for one of the most effec-

tive weapons the free world has had in that fight—American bipartisan foreign policy.

Until 1943, when Senator VANDENBERG voted to extend the President's powers to make reciprocal trade agreements, this country's enemies had hoped that a split between Democrats and Republicans on foreign policy would play into their hands. But with that vote, Senator VANDENBERG as the Republican Senate leader on foreign affairs signaled the birth of a foreign policy which was to doom the doctrine of isolation and remove the last sign of disunity within the Nation on the prosecution of the war and securing the peace to come.

The solid achievements of the bipartisan policy are to be noted throughout the western world. Wherever the cloud of communism has been lifted it has been largely because of the existence of that policy and the devoted leadership afforded it by Senator VANDENBERG from 1943 to his very death. An early advocate of the United Nations, he was one of the key American figures in San Francisco when UN was established and its Charter was written. It was Senator VANDENBERG who stepped forward at the critical moment to guarantee Britain's recovery when, in 1946, he spoke eloquently and successfully for the British loan. Greece and Turkey owe their present freedom from communism in large measure to the Michigan statesman, for it was his ceaseless efforts on behalf of the Truman doctrine which guaranteed American aid for those two countries. All Western Europe has cause to be grateful to him for the determined battle he put up for the Marshall plan. And if Western Europe's chances for survival are greater today than they were a year or two ago, they are better very largely because of the decisive part he played in the fashioning of these instruments of foreign policy and in the United States' adherence to the North Atlantic alliance.

Conceivably Congress would have adopted some, if not all, of these measures if ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG had not been in the Senate. But these are stronger measures because of his vigorous fight for them. He, more than any other man, has stood as a symbol of national unity on foreign affairs.

In many ways, Senator VANDENBERG'S years in the Senate recalled the days of Clay Calhoun, and Webster. One of the great debaters of our time, ARTHUR VANDENBERG could deliver a speech reminiscent of the golden days of oratory. Yet he was unsurpassed in his ability to cut through to the core of an issue, to sum up the central problem in a few clear, crisp sentences and to outline a proper course of action.

He brought, then, to a consideration of modern problems the careful and prolonged analysis that characterized a more leisurely era in our history; but essentially he was a man of action. He was completely of our times. He was a man who had the courage and good sense to alter his views as the times and the background of facts changed; a man who often put aside personal ambition for the sake of his party and country. His voice, though silenced by illness for many months, continued to echo in Washington and international capitals, and his remembered opinions will continue to carry great weight throughout the world for years to come.

It is a heartening thought to the profession and the city which produced this remarkable man that his power of expression and his clear and patriotic thinking on foreign and domestic affairs were shaped and developed through newspaper work, editorial leadership and editorial writing in Grand Rapids, his home community. For many years before he left to become a force in the Nation's and world's history, the Press knew ARTHUR VANDENBERG as a vigorous and brilliant competitor and as a kindly friend in the many contacts of civic life. Nowhere will he be missed more genuinely than in the city which gave him to the service of the world.

[From the Grand Haven (Mich.) Daily Tribune]

SENATOR ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

One appraisal was missing after the dramatic appearance of General MacArthur before both Houses of Congress. Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG had already passed away. Even had he lingered for a few hours longer, he was much too ill to participate in the debate occasioned by the deposed general's address.

Senator VANDENBERG's counsel on foreign affairs has been missing for months. Congressmen on both sides of the aisle—and foreign diplomats—have yearned at times for the Senator's recovery, that he might rescue the allies from their confused thinking. He seemed to be trying to oblige their wishes by a grim, heroic struggle to overcome his long sickness.

The cause of a bipartisan foreign policy has been badly crippled by Senator VANDENBERG's illness and death. The business world has lost an eloquent spokesman in the Senate. The Republicans will miss one of their truly great leaders.

"What is a conservative?" the late Senator once asked. "At one point the dictionary says 'one who seeks to prevent loss, decay, or injury, and who protects and preserves.' In that sense I want my party to be conservative. * * * But at another point the dic-

tionary says that a conservative is 'one opposed to change or progress.' In that sense I do not want my party to be conservative. If it is static, it will die. It will promote and not prevent decay for itself and country. This is not a static country nor a static age."

ARTHUR VANDENBERG applied this philosophy to his own career. Men and women throughout western Michigan became familiar with his forceful political opinions long before he entered the Senate. He was a newspaperman who was inspired by the greatness of American traditions. His capacity to absorb the political thinking of his day was phenomenal.

Many people do not think of Senator VANDENBERG as an author of books. Yet we have three good-sized volumes before us—all of which he wrote or compiled: The Greatest American: Alexander Hamilton (1921); If Hamilton Were Here Today (1923), and The Trail of a Tradition (1926).

There may be others. But these were gifts to another newspaperman who also has gone on. They all deal with the Senator's hero, an American pioneer who ranks with Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln as individuals who gave to this country its remarkable form of government.

Some men are elected to public office because they belong to the groups capable of bringing out the largest totals of votes. Others win because they are popular personally. Senator VANDENBERG was appointed the first time, then wrote his record by hard work and brilliance. He was—like Alexander Hamilton—a high-grade statesman.

The course of Senator VANDENBERG's political fortunes might have been downward except for his willingness to turn away from a seasoned isolationism to all-out internationalism. His fateful decision was reached in 1945. He sensed that the free nations of the world would soon perish unless they banded together. The world had become too small for the Monroe Doctrine and aloof neutrality.

Our early impressions of Senator VANDENBERG were mixed with both admiration and awe. Once he read critically a story we had written, while we watched tensely each movement of his big pencil. Michigan newsmen, while not always agreeing with ARTHUR VANDENBERG, seemed to find few subjects on which the Herald's brilliant editor was uninformed. We heard his voice rasp out at political rallies and tried to remember some of the long words in his amazing vocabulary.

We felt we knew him best, however, when in 1941 he spoke before a group of newspapermen at the Spring Lake Country Club. Many said it was one of the finest speeches of his career. It was on this

occasion—almost 10 years ago—that he expressed the longing to retire from public activity, loaf a bit, write a few more books, and look back upon a crowded life. These pleasures he was denied.

Senator VANDENBERG was a true friend of this area of Michigan he called home. He was never too busy to look after the smallest detail in a request from a constituent. He used his political partisanship with a master's skill, and combined conservatism and progressivism according to the formula he had set up. "I want the Republican Party to be liberal enough to march with the times, to dare new answers to new problems and to use the power and strength and initiative of Government to help citizens to help themselves," he once said. "I want the oak to stand. I want the branches to grow."

This is a lofty aim for an individual or country as well as a party.

Senator VANDENBERG was of Presidential caliber. Some will say that he missed not only this but also the opportunity of being on hand to straighten America out in its present indecision. Others will lament his chance to enjoy the peace in later life he so wanted. But he had mighty compensations—he was in some respects—again like Alexander Hamilton—the most outstanding American statesman of his time. Through his skill in guiding coalition movements, he achieved bipartisanship at crucial moments in history.

The branches of the tree he has planted are bound to grow.

[From the Holland (Mich.) Evening Sentinel]

GROWING TO NATIONAL STATURE

When ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG left Grand Rapids some 20 years ago to fill a place in the United States Senate he was to all intents and purposes a local character. He was not known to any extent outside the bounds of Michigan, and even in this State his main reputation was concentrated in western Michigan, in the area where his newspaper had been circulating.

Now a score of years later, when he has come to the end of his earthly road, he is a national figure. The name of Michigan's senior Senator is as well known in all the 48 States as that of any Member of the upper House in Washington. It is not unreasonable to go further. His name is pretty well known in many of the countries of Europe. The propaganda machine of Soviet Russia took occasion from time to time to cover that name with special abuse. The Russians understood that the Michigan man had exerted a tremendous influence in building up America's defenses against the onsweeping tide of communism.

During those years in the Senate Mr. VANDENBERG grew in political stature. When he began his career in Washington he was limited in his outlook, but he was big enough in his personal capacities so that he found it possible to grow into the bigness of that job. Slowly but consistently he kept pace in his political development with the unfolding exigencies of the Nation's history and the world's needs. He had the good fortune—it may have looked like bad fortune to him at the time—to serve in the Senate during a period when his party was out of office. As a member of the opposition minority during the New Deal days, he was faced constantly with the challenge of events.

There is a profound truth in the old saying that "the north wind made the Vikings." It was almost certainly the political north wind that this minority Senator had to brace himself against for years that developed the spiritual muscles which later came to be recognized by the Nation and indeed by the world.

During the past 10 years or so Senator VANDENBERG stood above party in the same way in which every truly national leader has to rise above the narrow compromises of party regularity. He remained a Republican of course but he was strong enough to carry his own party along the path that seemed the highway to his country's true interests and highest honor. In the end he came to be recognized more as an American leader than a party strategist.

Like so many other great Americans, he grew up to the stature that the needs of his country demanded. Democracy does not usually breed supermen; nor does it need them. But it often does breed men who, even though they are of average stature, bear within them the power to grow to a size that matches the greatness of great occasions and times. Such a man was Senator VANDENBERG.

Remarks by Representative Dingell

Of Michigan

Mr. DINGELL. Mr. Speaker, under leave to extend my remarks in the Record, I include the following article by Philip Slomovitz, editor and publisher of the Detroit Jewish News, from the issue of April 20, 1951:

TRIBUTE TO A GREAT STATESMAN

(By Philip Slomovitz)

ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG was one of the outstanding personalities of our time. Scholarly, well-informed, an excellent speaker, a brilliant organizer, he was held in high regard even by his severest critics. Few men in the United States Senate measured up to him in stature in the last 25 years. It is no wonder that as late as November 1948 President Truman was quoted as stating that he regarded him as the ablest Republican in the Senate.

From his background as a newspaper editor and publisher—a position to which he rose from the coveted beginning as a good reporter for his Grand Rapids paper—he acquired a passion for information on every subject with which he was deeply concerned. As a result, he never committed himself on any issue unless he possessed all available facts in order to be in position to speak with a measure of authority. He was a voluminous correspondent. He never failed to respond to communications—whether they were from critics or supporters.

More than one biography could be written of his life. Every issue he was involved in offers material for a study of his attitudes, his character, his ability to cope with situations. In most cases he rose to great heights in dealing with situations affecting our country.

This commentator knew him intimately and is in position to say that a full-length biography could be written to describe Senator VANDENBERG's relationships with Jews and Jewish issues, with particular reference to Zionism, Palestine, and Israel. Our first acquaintance with him was at a meeting of the Men's Club of Temple Beth El at which he captured the hearts of his Detroit audience with his eloquence and forthright expressions on matters of state. It was in the late 1920's. A friendship began in 1930 when

we first interested him in the Zionist cause. At that time the Pro-Palestine Federation of America was the active Christian philo-Zionist movement in this country which functioned under the brilliant leadership of the eminent Socialist, the late Charles Edward Russell.

Out of the friendship for Zionism grew Senator VANDENBERG'S interest in other matters—his anti-Nazi stand, his aid in efforts to liberalize legislation for the admission of displaced persons, the leading role he played in securing the ratification of the appointment of David Lilienthal as head of the Atomic Energy Commission in opposition to forces which he believed were anti-Semitic, his help in individual cases involving people who sought refuge in this country, his sponsorship of a resolution in support of Jewish aspirations in Palestine.

In its entirety, the VANDENBERG story vis-à-vis Zionism and Israel was not always rosy. There were times when we were impatient about his attitudes. Tense situations arose from time to time. Most of the time his hesitancy in acting in our behalf, as a member (later chairman) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, were due to pressure from the White House, the State and War Departments. When President Truman gave speedy recognition to the Jewish state, he was the first to commend it as the logical and proper step to take.

It would take volumes to describe our experiences with the great Michigan Senator. For more than 15 years it was our duty, at times on an hour's notice, to go to Washington to consult him on Zionist matters. It became necessary for this commentator to keep in touch with him on the Palestinian issue at San Francisco, in 1945, during the formative stages of the international world organization whose Charter he helped frame; to keep in touch with him when he represented the United States in Paris, at the sessions of the United Nations, in January of 1946, and constantly to keep him informed about the Jewish position in matters involving the future of our harassed people in Europe and in Arabic countries and the development of the State of Israel.

The historian will be amazed at the mass of information that came to us from his desks, wherever he may have been—in Washington, in San Francisco, in Paris, in Grand Rapids. There is an especially interesting note describing his conference at his Washington office with David Ben-Gurion on November 21, 1946. Even Ben-Gurion was wrong in an important matter involving the Arabs at that time. There are messages describing his reactions to Zionist leaders. And there are reports about the progress of his efforts in behalf of a Jewish Palestine in the United States Senate.

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG

A wire dated December 12, 1945, informed us that the "Foreign Relations Committee this morning ordered favorable report on Palestine resolution which seems to be in satisfactory form," to which was appended the information that "only opposing vote was that of Chairman Connally."

Since it is impossible, in one column, even to scratch the surface in commenting upon the brilliant career of Senator VANDENBERG, with special reference to his Jewish attitudes, your commentator desires to make note of only one other matter, involving a local item:

Less than 2 years ago the Morris Schavers, desiring to bring to this country the sole survivor of an entire family, 5-year-old Itzhak, who now is their adopted son, met with obstacles. Itzhak could have been considered Polish-born. In that case he would have to wait 12 years to be admitted to this country from Canada, where he was brought by the Schavers. Senator VANDENBERG promptly introduced a bill to declare Itzhak of French origin. Congressman John D. Dingell introduced a similar measure in the House of Representatives. Both bills were adopted by the two Houses of Congress and were signed by President Truman. That act is on record to the credit of Senator VANDENBERG and Congressman Dingell as an indication of their humanitarian interests.

The good acts of Senator VANDENBERG were multiplied a thousand times by his kindly intercessions. He was, indeed, a conservative Republican, especially from the Democrats' point of view. But when he was faced with issues that called for human considerations he rose above party politics. In all the years that we conferred with him he never—not once—showed the slightest interest in this commentator's political preferences. We were concerned with grave matters involving the security of the Jewish people, and we stuck to this point. On this score he was unselfish and always honorable. If only for this reason alone—which is one of many—we honor his memory as we honored and respected him in his lifetime.

Remarks by Representative Frank E. Smith

Of Mississippi

Mr. SMITH of Mississippi. Mr. Speaker, under unanimous consent, I include as an extension of my remarks two editorials from outstanding Mississippi newspapers eulogizing the late great Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG.

They are A Statesman Gone, from the Greenville Delta Democrat-Times, and Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, United States Patriot and Statesman, from the Jackson Clarion-Ledger:

[From the Delta Democrat-Times, Greenville, Miss.]

A STATESMAN GONE

In the death of United States Senator ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, Michigan, Republican, the Nation is mourning the loss of one of its ablest and most efficient statesmen.

His death came when one of his dreams, the North Atlantic Pact, was becoming a reality, and another of his dreams, world amity lay shattered in the acrimonious debate over the MacArthur-Truman episode.

The 67-year-old GOP leader, who was revered by Democrats, too, died in his sleep from a malignant tumor which he had ignored in his intensive efforts in behalf of the Atlantic Pact.

Had his health not failed, he would have easily been the Republican candidate for the Presidency and belief is general that he would have won the election hands down, for none there was to dispute his ability as an outstanding statesman of modern times.

An ARTHUR VANDENBERG as President of the United States would have advanced the cause of universal cooperation many decades, and raised the tobogganing, prestige of this Nation many notches.

All the Nation, therefore, feels his loss keenly.

ARTHUR HENDRICK VANDENBERG

[From the Jackson (Miss.) Clarion-Ledger]

SENATOR ARTHUR VANDENBERG, UNITED STATES PATRIOT AND STATESMAN

It is doubly tragic, and a double loss to the Nation, that Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG's death should have occurred at the height of a crisis and a controversy which show the Nation, both the people and their representatives in Washington, to be more evenly and more bitterly divided on foreign policy than ever before.

Senator ARTHUR VANDENBERG had not been able to participate in Senate sessions for more than a year before he died Wednesday. But his voice could still be heard from his sickbed, and his wise and patriotic counsel was available to his colleagues and to the administration.

Death has silenced that voice. Death has blocked any further extension of that wise counsel. Death removes from the United States Senate one of the Nation's few veritable statesmen, and paves the way, perhaps, for the seating of one more partisan politician.

Senator VANDENBERG's stature as a statesman was recognized by the Nation. It was recognized and respected by the leaders of his Republican Party, including those who conscientiously and consistently disagreed with him on many fundamental questions. Only the shallow-minded, the violently partisan, and the irresponsible ever ridiculed Senator VANDENBERG's knowledge of foreign affairs, his opinions, or his abilities. And his sincerity was unquestioned.

Senator VANDENBERG was almost entirely responsible for the degree to which bipartisan support of the Nation's foreign policy, and bipartisan participation in its shaping was obtained during the past four critical years. He was, for example, largely responsible for Senate approval of the North Atlantic Pact, which would probably have been rejected but for his efforts and influence.

In this new and exceedingly grave crisis and controversy over global foreign policy in general and policy regarding the Far East in particular, the great Republican statesman's influence and counsel will be sorely missed. The Nation needs it more than ever before.

For it still is true, as he contended last January in urging essential unity in facing the Communist threat: "We cannot stand a deadlock in foreign policy until 1952. Many patriots hold divergent views, but we must strive for the greatest possible meeting of loyal minds as swiftly as possible. This is the way to stop a war, or win it."

We hope that this appeal and warning echoes often in the Senate, sounds clearly above the partisan clamor, above all the political fuss, and fustian, above the contentions of the extremists and the ranting of the demagogues, as the United States Senate debates the issues and reaches the decisions on which our Nation's survival may depend.

Meantime, the Nation honors and mourns a patriot and a statesman, ARTHUR VANDENBERG, Michigan Republican, but an American first of all.

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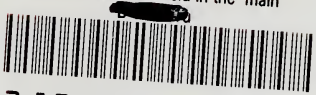

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